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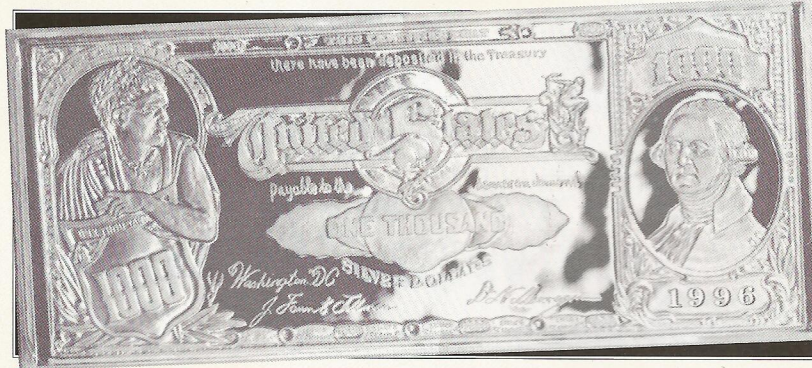


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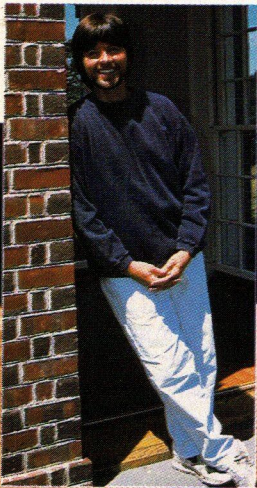
by Mary Louise Clifford/
Only 16 when she effected her first rescue in 1858, Ida Lewis gained fame as keeper of Lime Rock Light, off the coast of Newport, Rhode Island.

30 'THE WEST' REVISITED

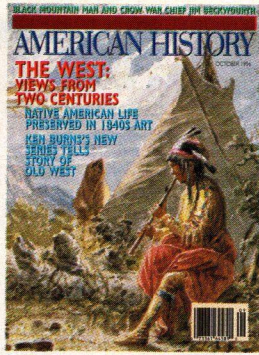
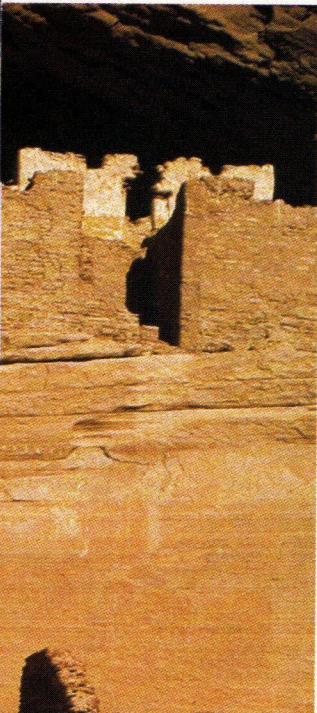
by Margaret Fortier/
On eight nights in September, the saga of the American West will unfold on TV screens across the country in a new documentary series by acclaimed filmmaker Ken Burns.

36 MOUNTAIN MAN

by Michael Martin/
Born to a slave & a Virginia aristocrat, Jim Beckwourth became a legend in the American West as a rugged mountain man, a teller of tall tales, & an Indian war chief.



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Among the best sources of information about Native Americans in the West are the sketches and paintings prepared by Seth Eastman during his service in the U.S. Army in the 1840s. Determined to document what he saw as a fading way of life, Eastman completed hundreds of richly detailed studies, such as "Indian Courting," the cover illustration for this issue. Several other watercolors by Eastman complement an account of his career by Patricia Condon Johnston that begins on page 42. Cover image courtesy of Afton Historical Society Press.



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42 SETH EASTMAN'S WEST

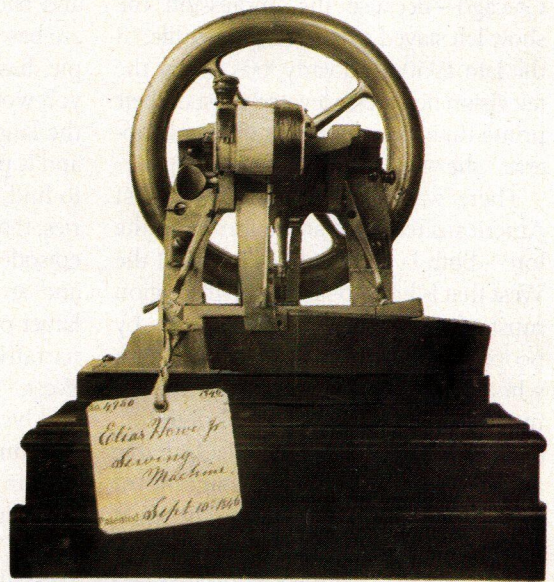
by Patricia Condon Johnston/
A series of watercolors by Seth Eastman, the foremost nineteenth-century pictorial historian of the American Indian, is now accessible to the public.

52 THE G.I. BILL

by Michael D. Haydock/
More than 2,250,000 American veterans of WWII received at least part of their college education as a result of legislation known as "The G.I. Bill."

58 A STITCH IN TIME

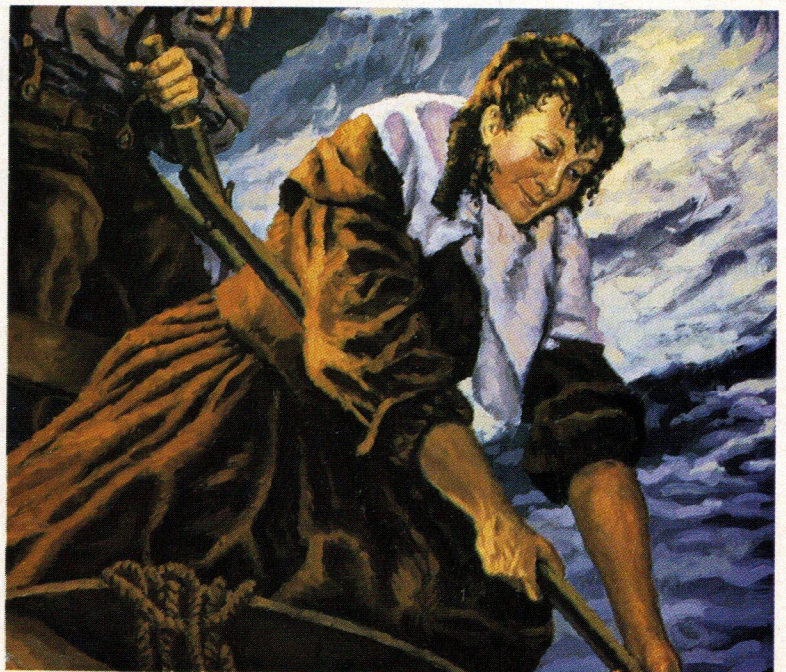
by Bruce K. Stewart/
As early as the late 1500s, European inventors were attempting to build a mechanical sewing device such as the one finally patented in the U. S. by Elias Howe in 1846.



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EDITOR'S DESK

thoughts on history

In 1907, Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West show paid a visit to Brooklyn, New York. My grandmother, then a child of eight, got to see the panoply of the West—that never was that Cody paraded before audiences around the world. It must have been a stirring sight for a little girl from the city who did not get west of New Jersey until in her sixties—and then no farther than Chicago—because the impression the show left stayed with her all of her life. In the late 1950s and early '60s, when the television networks devoted most of their prime-time viewing hours to "horse operas," she would watch nothing else.

There was for her, and is for most Americans today, an attraction about the lore—both factual and fictional—of the West that is hard to resist. It is the region most often associated with America by people of other lands and has spawned a whole genre of art and literature; an immediately identifiable way of dressing; and a host of characters, both admirable and disreputable, who are a significant part of our national identity. The West has been the site of some of our proudest examples of courage and perseverance, and of some of our greatest failures as a nation, particularly in regard to our treatment of Native Americans.

Recently, I had the pleasure of meeting and interviewing Ken Burns and his colleague, Stephen Ives, whose new documentary series, *The West*, promises to keep Americans glued to their televisions for more than 12 hours, as eight episodes unfold on September 15-19 and 22-24. Both men hope that this look at the West will spark the same kind of interest that greeted Burns's 1990 opus on the Civil War. In the wake of that series, people scurried to libraries, bookshops, and video stores to check out or buy anything that might further enlighten them on the conflict that so badly rent the nation. They also visited battlefields and other historic sites to get a firsthand feel for the places where the drama was played out.

As ambitious a project as *The Civil War* was, *The West* offered Burns and Ives an

even more daunting challenge. As Ives observed when I spoke with him, the story of the West, unlike that of the Civil War, could not be told in a single narrative that encompassed all episodes. It was, he said, like "trying to paint one of those Albert Bierstadt canvasses. You have to start with this epic scale, and yet you begin with small stories, foreground and background—intimate stories that are based on biographies, based on people, based on events. And ultimately, if you work with the canvas long enough, the larger picture becomes clear to you and is possible to be rendered. [We had] to find the small stories, individual stories, that added up to powerful, dramatic episodes that had a beginning, a middle, and an end, and then find how those larger pieces ended up creating one large narrative of the whole history of the West." More thoughts from both Burns and Ives on the making of *The West* can be found beginning on page 30.

Complementing the interview on the series are profiles of two of the many fascinating individuals who populated the West in the mid-nineteenth century. The life of the first, Jim Beckwourth, could not have unfolded anywhere but the American West. Like Buffalo Bill and other flamboyant characters, Beckwourth helped to blur the lines between myth and reality by telling outrageous tales about a life that needed no embellishment (page 36).

Seth Eastman, the other person featured, was a U.S. Army officer and an artist who, while stationed in the West during the 1840s, recognized how much the lives of Native Americans were changing and sought to capture much of their daily activities and culture for posterity. We are fortunate to be able to illustrate the article with reproductions of several of his works, which are part of an important collection purchased by Minnesota businessman W. Duncan MacMillan in 1994 with the intention of making them better known and more accessible to the public (page 42).

—Margaret Fortier

AMERICAN HISTORY®

Vol. XXXI No. 4

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American History (ISSN 1076-8866) is published bimonthly by Cowles History Group, 741 Miller Dr. SE, Suite D-2, Leesburg, VA 22075, a division of Cowles Enthusiast Media, Inc., 6405 Flank Drive, Harrisburg, PA 17112-2753. Yearly subscriptions in U.S. \$23.95, Canada \$29.95 (includes GST), Foreign \$47.95, payment in U.S. funds only. Periodical postage paid at Leesburg, VA and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to American History, P.O. Box 420235, Palm Coast, FL 32142. Subscription questions Call: U.S. & Canada, (800) 829-3340. Foreign, (904) 446-6914. American History accepts no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts not accompanied by return postage. Permission to reproduce the issue or portions thereof must be secured in writing from the publisher. American History is available on microfilm and microfiche from University Microfilms, Inc., 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

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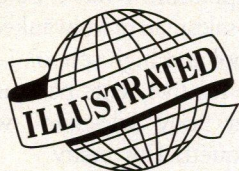
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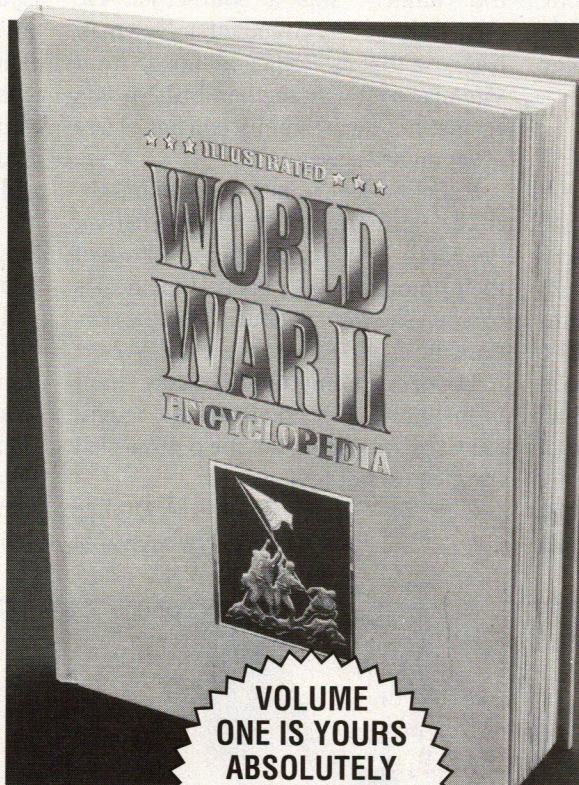
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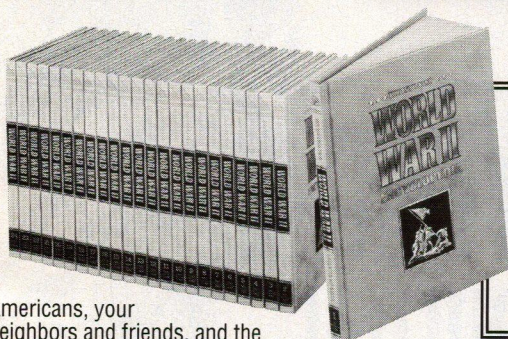
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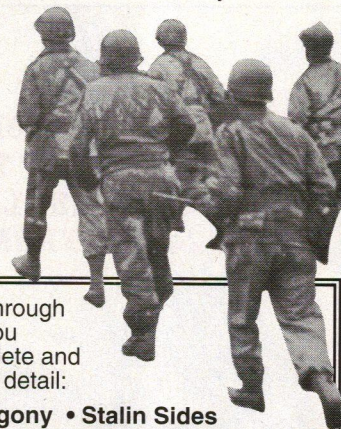


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MAILBOX

readers' letters

In the July/August 1996 issue of *American History*, we failed to note that Harold Holzer's fine article "Union Made" was continued on page 61. The editors apologize to Mr. Holzer and our readers for this oversight and deeply regret any inconvenience it may have caused.

PORTRAITS REMEMBERED

Your article by Harold Holzer in the July/August issue of *American History* on portraits of Southern gentlemen brought to my mind a childhood memory. I asked my mother what it was like when she was a little girl. She was born in 1884 in the tiny village of Big Fishing Creek in West Virginia. On one side of the creek lived her Grandfather Morgan and his family. On the other side of the creek lived her Grandfather Newman

and his family. Mother's childhood duty was to churn their butter.

Grandfather Morgan, cousin of John the "Raider," was a Southerner. He owned slaves . . . Grandfather Newman had gone to West Point and though from Virginia had fought on the Northern side against his own Virginia cousins. They never owned slaves.

Somehow love united my grandmother, the Northerner, with my grandfather, the Southerner, and mother was born of their union. Mother's deepest memories of when she went to churn were the portraits held with deep reverence, Robert E. Lee in one home and Ulysses S. Grant in the other. [Her grandparents] taught her Civil War tunes, but the portraits left the greatest impression.

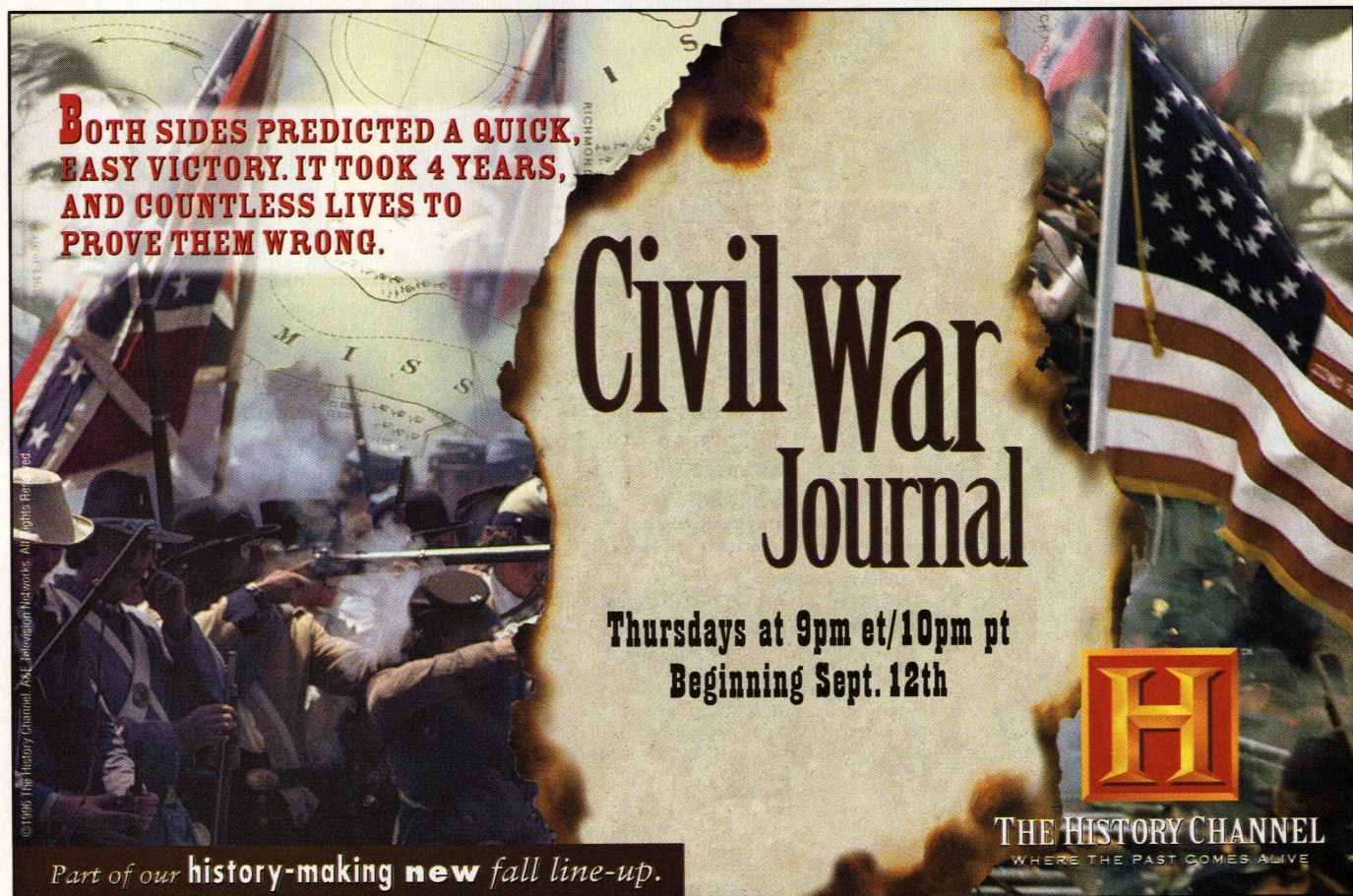
Frances M. Dudley
Ridley Park, Pennsylvania

A LIBERTY MAGAZINE SALESBOY

I appreciated Earl Clark's *Saturday Evening Post* boy-salesmen story in the March/April 1996 issue of *American History*, even though those boys were my competition. I was a *Liberty* magazine boy-salesman in Milwaukee during grade school and high school. I sold my business for five cents per customer to another "boy salesman" who attended Marquette University.

Just like the *Saturday Evening Post* boys, we received one and one-half cents for selling each five-cent magazine plus one Greenie for each five magazines sold or one Brownie for each 25 sold. As I recall, there was a "23 club" and then a "49 club" with some reward for reaching those sales goals. I belonged to the 49 club. The boy next door sold the *Saturday Evening Post* and had more than one hundred customers, but his mother sold most of them for him at the gas company where she worked.

Liberty hit the newsstands on Wednesday, and that's the day the customers expected delivery. The ability to deliver and collect was about as impor-



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tant as the ability to sell. It was necessary to go outside the neighborhood to get enough customers, and that made a delivery problem.

I lusted after a Wright-Ditzen "Comet" tennis racquet pictured in the seductive catalogue, and after sending in 78 [coupons] for it (1,950 magazine sales), I received a much lower quality racquet than the "Comet." I protested to my distributor to no avail, so I finally wrote my complaint to the publisher, Bernarr MacFadden. He didn't reply, and I gave the racquet to my sister since I already had a better one. I haven't forgiven MacFadden to this day.

Richard O. Bade
Fort Wayne, Indiana

BEAST OF BATAAN SCAPEGOAT?

The sense of outrage that I feel over the whitewash of the war crimes by the Chinese and Japanese during the Second World War has never been greater than right now, after reading this very insightful and well-written article [March/April 1996 issue]. I sense that Mr. Pelz knew first hand of the miscarriage of justice that he was observing. Even a casual

reader can easily discern that this trial was a mockery of justice. The impression that I get from this article is that General Homma Masaharu was merely the scapegoat chosen by General Douglas MacArthur due to a personal grudge. This means that the real perpetrators of the war atrocities were never brought to justice.

Sharon K. Howard
Springfield, Missouri

MACARTHUR'S REPUTATION

The MacArthur article in your May/June 1996 issue pointed out the insubordinate character of the general. History shows that General John J. Pershing had trouble with him following orders during World War I. President Herbert Hoover, as commander in chief, ordered MacArthur not to fire on the bonus marchers in 1932, but of course he did. As a matter of fact, President Hoover always thought this was one of the many reasons for his election defeat in 1932.

General MacArthur, as we know, kept President Harry Truman waiting for him at Wake Island. Again showing disrespect for the president, he greeted him

not in appropriate dress but wearing his old greasy campaign hat.

When the general and his family returned to the United States and moved into the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City, he had the effrontery to send his aide to President Hoover's apartment suggesting the general was now ready to receive the president. The former president sent back word to MacArthur that when he wanted to see the general, he would send for him.

William H. Perkins
Riverside, Illinois

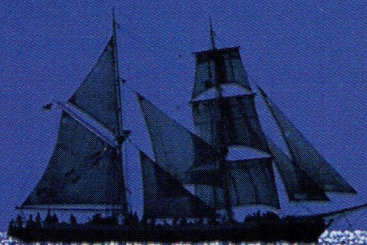
REAL TRUMAN SHOWN IN QUOTE

When Douglas MacArthur left the American Embassy (his residence) in Manila for the last time [May/June 1996 issue], his route to the airport was lined with Japanese police and then with American soldiers. As the car drove by carrying him and General Matthew Ridgway, I was there with my carbine and came to "present arms"; I knew that history was being made.

As a 19-year-old, I knew that I very much resented what President Harry

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FORT LARAMIE: CROSSROADS OF THE WEST

(The Old Army Press, \$24.95). The drama of life in what is possibly the most famous military post in the history of the American West is presented in this video account of Fort Laramie, in southeastern Wyoming. Located at the confluence of the North Platte and Laramie Rivers, near the present town of Torrington, Fort Laramie became one of the largest military posts on the Western frontier. The video chronicles its establishment by the Army in 1849, when the site was purchased from the American Fur Company for \$4,000; its role on the route followed by more than 50,000 immigrants annually who traveled the Oregon and Mormon Trails between 1849 and '51; and its place as an important stagecoach and Pony Express stop before the completion of the transcontinental telegraph lines in 1861.

ROY ROGERS: AMERICAN LEGEND

(Arts & Entertainment Television Networks, \$19.95). This nostalgic video presentation highlights the career of Roy Rogers (1912-), the man who succeeded Gene Autry as Hollywood's most popular singing cowboy. Rogers's life is traced from his humble beginning in Cincinnati, Ohio, to the fame and fortune that came to him as a motion picture star throughout the 1940s and '50s. Home movies offer a glimpse of Rogers's personal life with his wife and frequent co-star, Dale Evans, and their children. Also included is a tour of The Roy

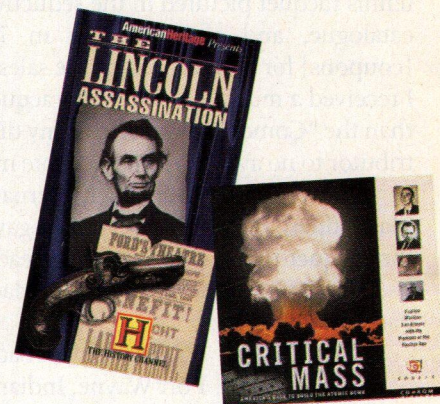
Rogers and Dale Evans Museum in Victorville, California.

THE ALAMO: VICTORY OR DEATH

(Archimedia Interactive, \$59.95). The drama of the Battle of the Alamo, which took place during the Texas Revolution of 1835-36, is chronicled in this two-disc CD-ROM set for Macintosh and Windows. The well-documented program recounts the story of the brave band of approximately 185 Texans who held out from February 24 until March 6, 1836 against an army of more than 5,000 Mexican soldiers determined to prevent Texas from gaining its independence. Disc one contains information on the history of Texas; on the missions, such as the Alamo, built by the Spanish; and on the battles fought in the course of the conflict. Disc two features biographies of such men as James (Jim) Bowie (1796-1836), David (Davy) Crockett (1786-1836), and General Antonio López de Santa Anna (1795?-1876); games and puzzles based on the event; "Songs of the Time," featuring period music recorded by such Texans as Charley Pride and Robert Earl Keen; and artifacts connected with the site, including buttons, Crockett's musket ball pouch, Spanish coins from as far back as the early eighteenth century, and various war-related documents.

THE LINCOLN ASSASSINATION

(Arts & Entertainment Television Networks, \$29.95). The myths and misconceptions that surround the death of President Abraham Lincoln (1809-65)—the first American president to be assassinated—are unraveled in this two-cassette video presentation. The documentary examines why, from the moment he was elected, Lincoln lived with the threat of assassination, a fact that led him to keep in his desk during the war years an envelope filled with threatening letters and marked "Assassination." Commentary from historians and forensic experts address such issues as why John Wilkes Booth (1838-65) became a



Confederate spy during the Civil War and why he was driven to kill the president; what led Lincoln to predict his own death; the fate of the conspirators involved in the plot to murder the president; and the precautions taken at Lincoln's Illinois grave to prevent the theft of his body.

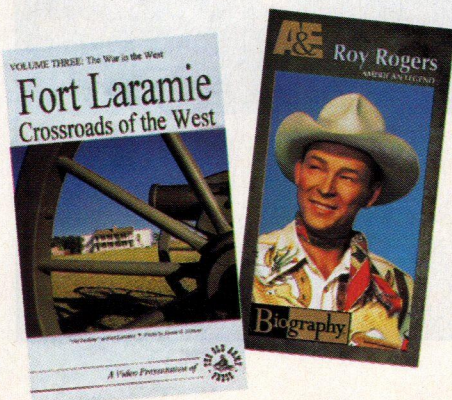
WOMEN FIRST & FOREMOST

(The Monterey Movie Company, \$24.95 each or \$69.95 for the set). Narrated by Rita Moreno and Dee Wallace Stone, this three-cassette video set highlights some of the many stories of women who left their mark on American society. Volume one includes women in medicine and social sciences; volume two features women in journalism, the military, and aviation and space; and volume three covers entertainment and the arts. Among those highlighted are Deborah Sampson Gannett (1760-1827), who disguised herself as a man so that she could fight in the Revolutionary War; Anne Newport Royall (1769-1854), the first female travel writer and one of the first to report "hard news"; Lucy Stone (1818-93), a pioneer in the women's rights movement; and Bette Davis (1908-89), a legend in the Hollywood movie industry.

CRITICAL MASS: AMERICA'S RACE TO BUILD THE ATOMIC BOMB

(Corbis, \$40.00). The drama leading up to the dropping of the first atomic bomb unfolds in this CD-ROM for Macintosh and Windows, which focuses on the people and events behind the U.S. effort to

continued on page 22

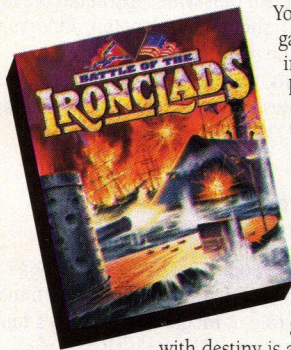


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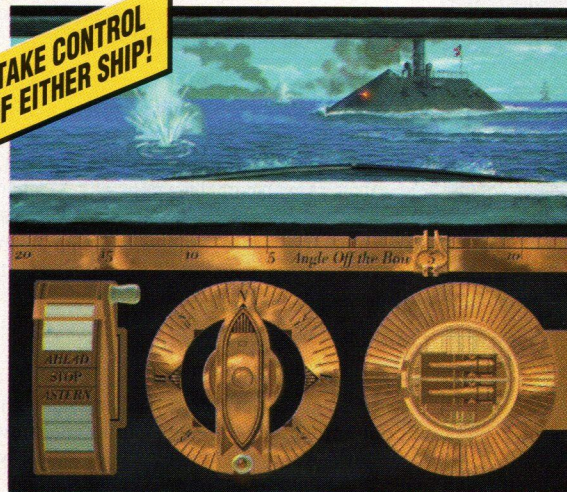
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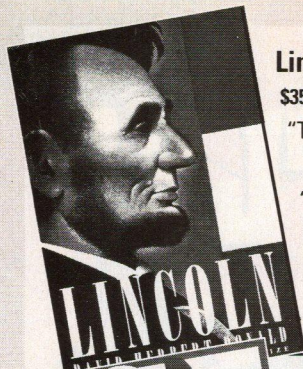
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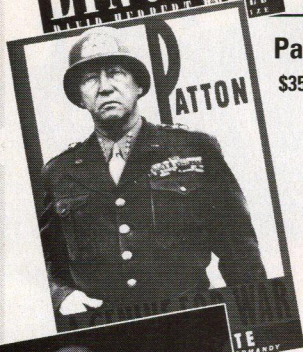
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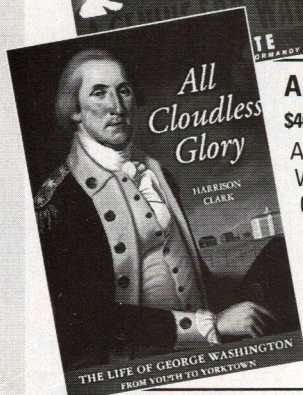
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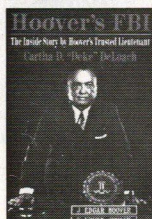


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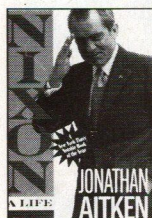
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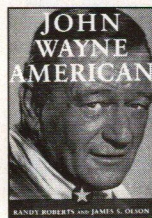
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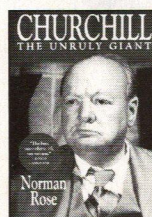


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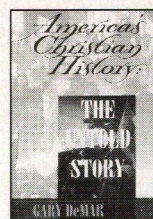
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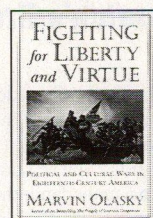
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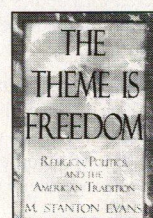
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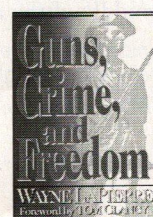
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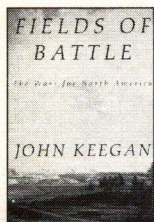


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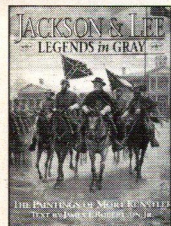
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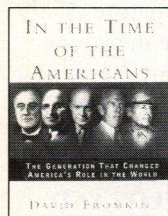


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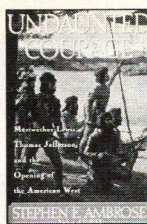
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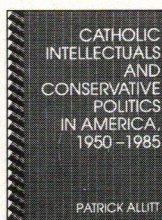


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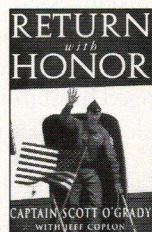
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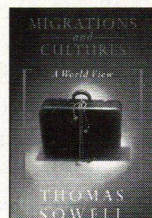
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by Fred J. Maroon, text by Suzy Maroon (Thomasson-Grant & Lickle, 192 pages, \$45.00). In this beautiful, large-format book, award-winning photographer Fred J. Maroon takes the reader on a visual tour through the Supreme Court building—seat of the judicial branch of the federal government and one of the great symbols of the American system of justice—in Washington, D.C. Maroon's stunning images demonstrate the grandeur of the last major neo-classical government building erected in the nation's capital, while Suzy Maroon's text traces the evolution of the Supreme Court, explaining why the Founding Fathers decided that there should be a third branch of government, equal to the executive and legislative branches; its beginning in Philadelphia; and the move to its permanent home in Washington in 1800. A section entitled "A Petition's Progress" follows an appeal to the high court from its receipt, through the eventual argument before the court, to the judges' ultimate opinion.

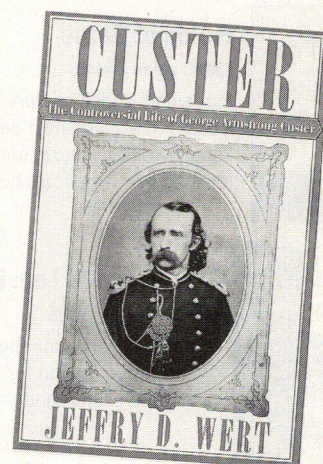
LABORERS FOR LIBERTY: AMERICAN WOMEN 1865-1890

by Harriet Sigerman (Oxford University Press, 144 pages, \$22.00). Published as

one of 11 books for young adults in the series *The Young Oxford History of Women in the United States*, this volume examines the lives of women in the aftermath of the Civil War, when many former homemakers were forced by circumstances to become their families' sole providers and when many women became involved with social issues that ranged from the prevention of domestic violence to woman suffrage.

CUSTER: THE CONTROVERSIAL LIFE OF GEORGE ARMSTRONG CUSTER

by Jeffry D. Wert (Simon & Schuster, 480 pages, \$27.50). In this full-scale analysis of the life of George Armstrong Custer (1839-76), Wert surveys the career of one of America's enigmatic military figures, best known for his "last stand" against Sioux and Cheyenne warriors at the Battle of the Little Big Horn, in Montana, on June 25, 1876. That engagement cost Custer and more than 250 men of the Seventh U.S. Cavalry their lives. The author makes use of new and previously overlooked documents—including letters exchanged by Custer and his wife "Libbie"—and a recently discovered unpublished manuscript written by a trooper of the Seventh Cavalry who rode with Custer to the Little Big Horn, which provide in-



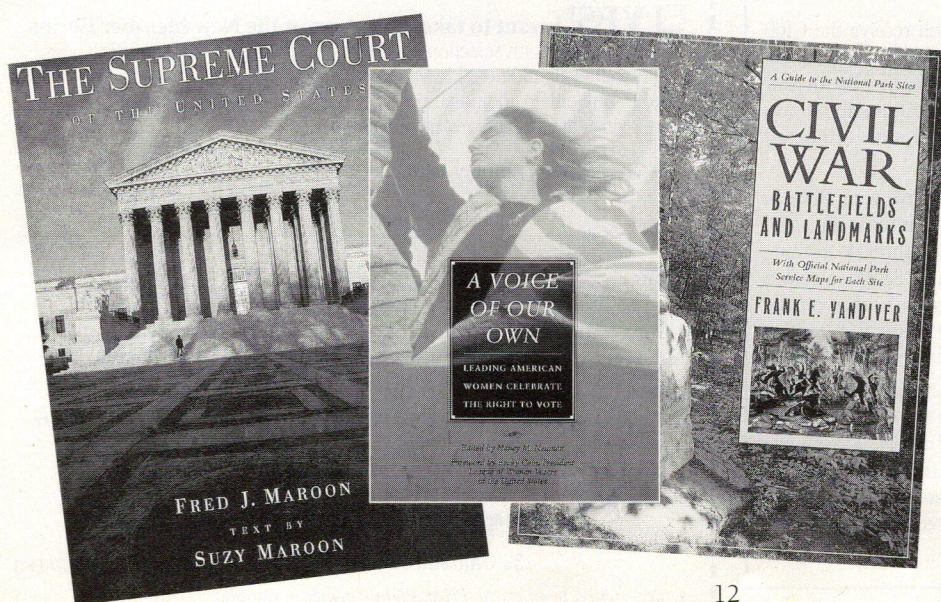
sight into the complex nature of the man who in 1863 became the youngest general in the Union Army, but whose subsequent career in the West was marked by notoriety and controversy.

CIVIL WAR BATTLEFIELDS AND LANDMARKS: A GUIDE TO THE NATIONAL PARK SITES

edited by Frank E. Vandiver (Random House, 160 pages, \$25.00). This handsomely illustrated guide takes the reader to the Civil War battlefields and landmarks under the care of the National Park Service (NPS). Twenty sites—ten each in the Eastern and Western Theaters of war—are explored through the use of period and modern photography, charts, and official NPS maps. The book provides brief accounts of the fighting that occurred at each site, which are complemented by biographical profiles of army commanders, eyewitness accounts of each battle, and campaign maps and statistics.

A VOICE OF OUR OWN: LEADING AMERICAN WOMEN CELEBRATE THE RIGHT TO VOTE

edited by Nancy M. Neuman (Jossey-Bass Publishers, 265 pages, \$24.00). To commemorate last year's seventy-fifth anniversary of the 1920 ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment—which declared that no American could be denied the right to vote because of gender—the League of Women Voters invited a group





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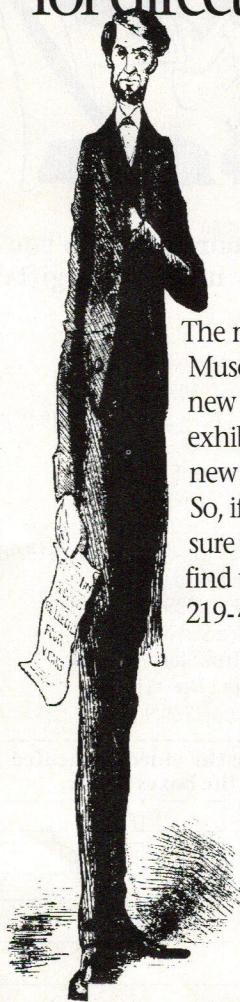
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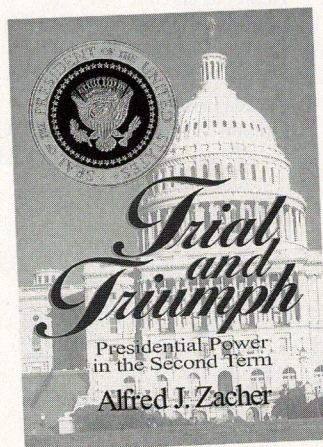
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of eminent women to offer their own viewpoint on the increasing participatory role of women in American democracy. This volume presents the resulting 28 essays, contributed by such notables as First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton (1947-); former First Lady Rosalynn Carter (1927-); Diane Yu (1951-), the first woman and first member of an ethnic minority to be appointed General Counsel for the State Bar of California; Ada Deer (1935-), assistant secretary of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior; and Martina Navratilova (1956-), Wimbledon and U.S. Open tennis champion. The authors reflect on women's past struggles and successes and examine the challenges of the future.

TRIAL AND TRIUMPH: PRESIDENTIAL POWER IN THE SECOND TERM

by Alfred J. Zacher (Presidential Press, 349 pages, \$24.95). The first attempt to study U.S. presidents' second terms,



Zacher's work examines the political life of 17 of the 18 incumbents that have been re-elected to office; William McKinley (1843-1901) is excluded because he was assassinated just seven months into his second term. The author demonstrates that for some—Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), Ulysses S. Grant (1822-85), Grover Cleveland (1837-1908), and Richard M. Nixon (1913-94)—the second four years in the White House became a time of extreme stress, while for others—Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919) and Ronald Reagan (1911-)—the second term was a period of great achievement. Zacher outlines ten criteria that make a president's second term a success and accordingly rates the effectiveness of each two-term president.

THE TRIALS OF MARIA BARBELLA: THE TRUE STORY OF A 19TH CENTURY CRIME OF PASSION

by Idanna Pucci (Four Walls Eight Windows, 324 pages, \$22.00). The dramatic account of Maria Barbella, an Italian immigrant who in 1895 became the first woman sentenced to die in the newly invented electric chair, is recounted by Pucci, whose great-grandmother, Cora Slocomb, journeyed to New York's Sing Sing Prison in an effort to save Barbella's life after becoming convinced that her actions constituted self defense. Pucci recounts the details of Barbella's mismanaged trial in New York City, where her poor grasp of English prevented her from defending herself against the prosecution's accusations; her subsequent conviction and death sentence; the activities of advocates, including Slocomb, who worked diligently on her behalf; the evident nineteenth-century prejudices against Italian Americans in particular, and women in general; and her subsequent retrial and resulting acquittal.

TO SERVE MY COUNTRY, TO SERVE MY RACE

by Brenda L. Moore (New York University Press, 272 pages, \$24.95). The story of the only African-American members of the Women's Army Corps (WACs) to be stationed overseas during World War II is detailed in this account of the historic 6888th Central Postal Directory Battalion, whose members joined the U.S. Army mainly because they were denied admission to other branches of the military. Relying primarily on interviews with 51 former members of the battalion—who recount their experiences in Europe and show how their military service affected their lives during the years that followed their return to civilian status—Moore illustrates how this determined group, realizing that "the eyes of the world" were on them, welcomed the opportunity to blaze a trail for other African-American women.

PASSIONS: THE WINES AND TRAVELS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

by James M. Gabler (Bacchus Press Ltd., 318 pages, \$29.95). Author James Gabler utilizes Thomas Jefferson's diaries and letters, one hundred historical

continued on page 71

60

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HISTORY TODAY

news of the past

FILM REVISITS JAPANESE WAR-CRIMES TRIALS

On September 10, The History Channel will broadcast "Japanese War Crimes: Murder under the Sun," the riveting story of World War II's lesser-known war-crimes trials, in which more than 5,600 Japanese defendants stood accused and 920 were sentenced to death [see "Beast of Bataan," March/April 1996 issue]. Produced by Lou Reda, this one-hour documentary combines historic war footage confiscated by the U.S. Army in 1945 with contemporary interviews with American survivors of the notorious Zentsujian prison camp on Shikoku Island, Japan.

Captured in the early 1940s during Japan's victorious sweep through the Pacific, the former prisoners share their memories, diaries, and sketches in describing their harrowing ordeal, revealing what it took to live through years of torture, murder, starvation, and disease at the hands of the Japanese.

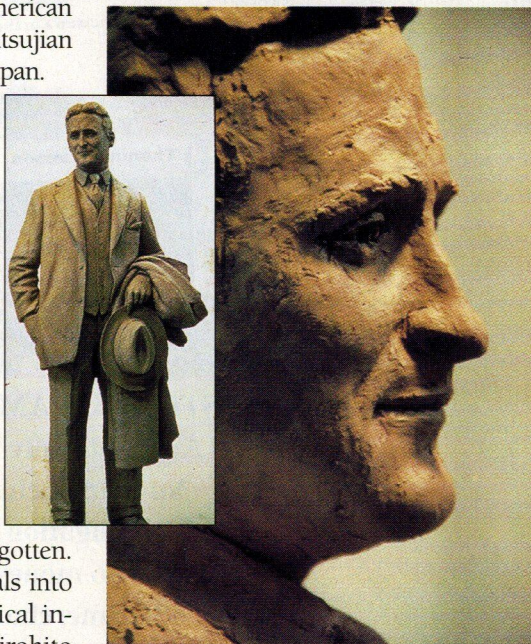
While the postwar proceedings against Nazi war criminals in Nuremberg gained worldwide attention, the 2½-year-long Tokyo trials have been almost forgotten. In addition to bringing these trials into focus, the film explores the political intrigues that spared Emperor Hirohito (1901-89) the fate that awaited his wartime prime minister, General Tojo Hideki (1884-1948) and hundreds of other loyal subjects.

F. SCOTT FITZGERALD'S 100TH BIRTHDAY

September 24 marks the hundredth anniversary of famed author F. Scott Fitzgerald's birth. The great American novelist's hometown of St. Paul, Minnesota, will celebrate the occasion with a series of public events during the week of September 23-29, which, in addition to honoring Fitzgerald's memory, are intended to encourage and attract the interest of budding, young writers and literature enthu-

siasts. Highlights include a "Literature Festival" for students, educators, and writers; readings of the complete works of Fitzgerald; a theater parade; "The Great Gatsby Ball"; and the unveiling on September 27 of sculptor Michael Price's life-size, bronze statue of Fitzgerald.

In his first novel, *This Side of Paradise*, which was published in 1920, Fitzgerald coined the phrase "The Jazz Age," the term often used to describe the 1920s. The lifestyle he pursued with his wife Zelda during that decade has come



F. SCOTT FITZGERALD: MICHAEL B. PRICE, 1996.

to epitomize "The Roaring Twenties." Although his relatively brief career (he died in 1940) produced some of the finest work ever by an American writer—most notably *The Great Gatsby* (1925) and *Tender is the Night* (1934)—Fitzgerald enjoyed neither critical nor financial success in his lifetime. For information on all planned events call 612-338-5603.

CONFEDERATE ARMS DISPLAYED

"Arms of the Confederacy," an exhibition featuring the myriad weapons with which troops of the Confederate States of America resisted Union forces during the

Civil War, is on display through October 1 at the Springfield Armory National Historic Site (413-734-8551) in Massachusetts. Described as "the most comprehensive collection of [C]onfederate weapons in existence," the assemblage includes such models as the .74 caliber French sporting rifle (right) taken from Confederate President Jefferson Davis (1808-89) on his capture in 1865; the .577 caliber, British Model 1853 "Volunteer" officer's rifle-musket, carried by Davis's personal guards; and "That Damn Yankee Rifle," the .44 caliber Henry repeater, as well as such rarities as a .54 caliber British Wilson breechloading rifle, used by the Confederate Navy; one of only sixteen .54 caliber Bilharz and Hall "rising breech" carbines known to exist; and one of only three known "Guilford" marked, .58 caliber Mendenhall, Jones & Gardner rifles.

Challenged with the daunting task of arming the troops of the Confederacy, Chief of Ordnance Josiah Gorgas masterfully combined domestic products, European imports, stores at captured Federal arsenals, and battlefield pickups to build a diverse but immense supply of guns that kept the Confederacy fighting for four years.

AMERICA'S HISTORY ON-LINE

The Library of Congress is in the midst of a five-year plan to develop a National Digital Library (NDL): an on-line showcase of some of the country's most important historical documents. The brainchild of Librarian of Congress James H. Billington, the NDL provides easy access via the internet to the institution's vast collections, in the hope that their availability will stimulate greater interest in our nation's archival heritage and serve as an aid to students and educators alike.

At a cost of \$60 million, the NDL is expected to contain five million items



PHOTO BY RICH COLTEN

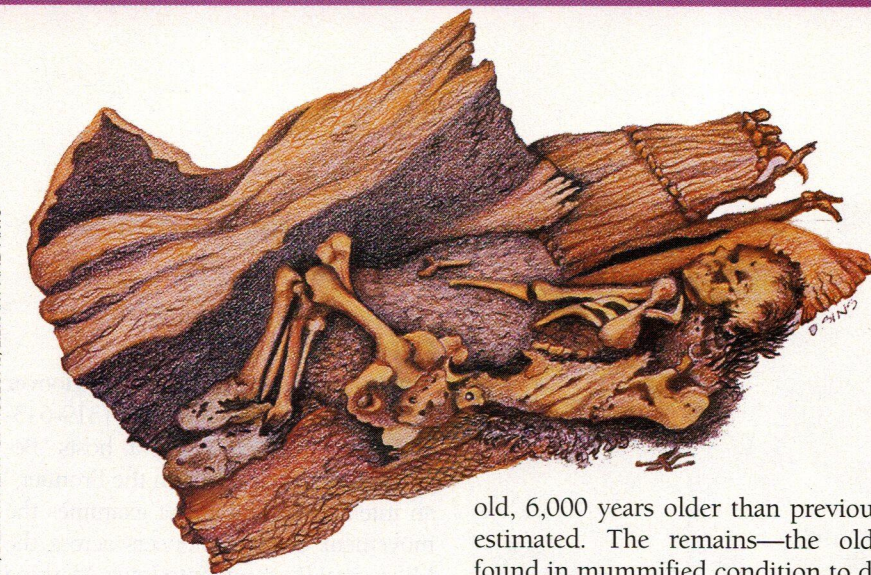
by the year 2000. Among those already on display are Civil War photographs by Mathew Brady (1823-96); daguerreotypes, including two of Abraham Lincoln (1809-65); and motion pictures created between 1897 and 1916. Recent substantial private donations will allow the NDL to digitize and make available on-line for the first time two of the library's most significant holdings—the private papers of Presidents George Washington (1732-99) and Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826).

The Library of Congress, charged with the care of some 110 million items in every conceivable format, was established in 1800 and is the largest library in the world. The Uniform Resource Locator for the Library of Congress Web homepage is: <http://www.loc.gov>.

RETURN TO 1904 WORLD'S FAIR

For the next five years, the **Missouri Historical Society** (314-746-4599) in St. Louis is hosting "Meet Me at the Fair: Memory, History and the 1904 World's Fair," an exhibition commemorating the exposition that marked the centennial of the beginning of the 1804-1806 cross-country expedition of Meriwether Lewis (1774-1809) and William Clark (1770-1838) that followed the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory by the United States in 1803. Life-size sil-

STATE OF NEVADA, DEPARTMENT OF MUSEUMS, LIBRARY AND ARTS



houettes of 1904 fair-goers, as well as promotional posters and billboards from the fair, greet visitors to the exhibit, whose title was inspired by the theme to the 1944 movie classic *Meet Me in St. Louis*, starring Judy Garland. In addition to featuring numerous mementos of the fair, the display boasts several audiovisual and interactive-computer components and is complemented by such educational and community programs as gallery tours; bus and walking tours of the Forest Park locale of the fair; lectures; workshops on preserving family souvenirs and records; and a film and discussion series.

Opening to a swarming crowd of just under 200,000 on April 30, 1904, the St. Louis World's Fair attracted close to twenty million visitors during its seven-month-long run. Known for its magnificent vistas and a huge, 264-foot-high Ferris wheel, The Louisiana Purchase Exposition, as it was also known, is said to have been the birthplace of the ice cream cone, hot dog buns, iced tea, and hamburgers.

"SPIRIT CAVE MAN" 9,400 YEARS OLD

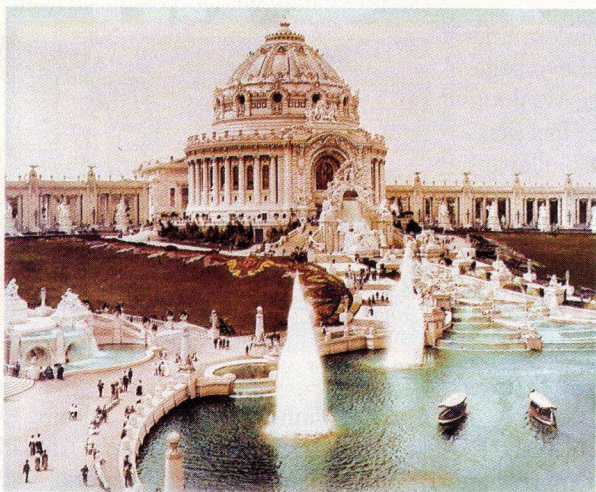
Recent scientific testing has revealed that partially mummified human remains unearthed in Nevada 56 years ago are approximately 9,400 years

old, 6,000 years older than previously estimated. The remains—the oldest found in mummified condition to date in North America—were discovered in "Spirit Cave," east of Fallon, by Nevada State Parks Commission archaeologists Sidney M. and Georgia Wheeler, a husband-and-wife team who died years ago without knowing the significance of their find. "Spirit Cave man," as he was dubbed, was wrapped in a skin robe and woven mats made from a marsh plant, textiles that initially led archaeologists to assume the remains to be about 3,400 years old. Radiocarbon testing on samples of hair, bone, and mat fibers, however, indicate that the Nevada mats are the oldest large pieces of plain weave yet found in the Americas. The skin on Spirit Cave man's head, face, and upper back had been unintentionally mummified through a combination of the cave's dry environment and the protective wrapping around the head.

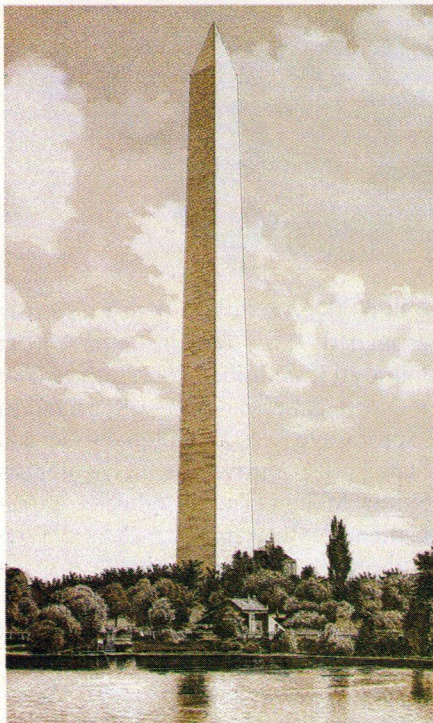
Although further study of the find might reveal evidence of how man lived after the last Ice Age, scientists may have to forego testing due to requests by Native American groups in the region that the remains be repatriated under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act. The law requires all museums receiving federal funds or holding human remains found on federal property—which Spirit Cave man was—to return the bones or ashes to the "closest affiliated" Indian tribe. Until the debate is settled, further DNA testing has been postponed.

WASHINGTON MONUMENT RESTORATION FUNDED

Target Stores recently announced plans



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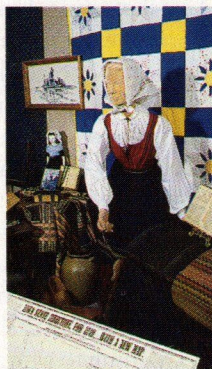
COWLES ARCHIVE

to launch a \$5-million, fund-raising campaign to help restore one of the nation's most treasured memorials—the **Washington Monument**—“so that future generations can honor it as we do today.” Guaranteeing an initial \$1-million contribution, the retail giant pledged to lead efforts to raise an additional \$4 million in donations from individuals and other corporations. With major renovations already underway at both the Lincoln and Jefferson Memorials and with National Park Service (NPS) resources nearly tapped, NPS Director Roger Kennedy praised the announcement “as a model of corporate support for our nation's common ground.” The 555-foot-tall obelisk erected in honor of George Washington, the “father” of his country, opened to the public in 1886; today, it is visited by approximately one million people each year. The fund will pay for scaffolding needed to repoint the monument's 36,000 stones, seal cracks, and restore interior stones. Other improvements—replacing the elevator, enhancing exterior lighting, and upgrading visitor access—

are also planned, with completion expected by 2000.

HOOVER LIBRARY HOSTS FRONTIER EXHIBIT

Through October 27, the **Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Museum** (319-643-5301) in West Branch, Iowa, hosts “Beyond the Big River: Life on the Frontier,” an interactive exhibit that examines the movement of early pioneers across the Mississippi River and into Iowa. Marking the 150th anniversary of Iowa's 1846 admission into the Union, “Beyond the Big River” explores Iowa's development from its infancy through the “closing” of the frontier in 1890. A variety of artifacts and historical reproductions are displayed in the exhibit's eight segments, each of which surveys a different historical theme. Topics range from the damage inflicted upon Native-American culture by the press of European migration westward following the Black Hawk War of 1832 to the growth of Iowa's numerous present-day communities.



HERBERT HOOVER PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY MUSEUM

WASHINGTON MANUSCRIPT AUCTIONED

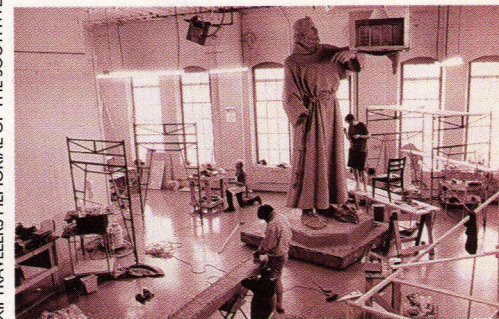
Phillips auction house in London, England, recently offered for sale two pages from the first draft of **George Washington's inaugural address** as the first president of the new United States following his unanimous election in 1789. Discovered under a sofa in a Suffolk, England, home along with manuscripts by the likes of Revolutionary War hero, Marquis de Lafayette (1757-1834); British abolitionist William Wilberforce (1759-1833); and Italian patriot Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-72), the folio—pages 35 and 36 of the 64-page draft—is one of only 14 known to exist and sold for more than \$320,000 to an anonymous private col-

lector at the June 13 auction.

The two pages, written in Washington's own hand, are the most important part of the address yet found because, according to Phillips's books consultant Felix Pryor, they contain “what may well have been the very heart” of Washington's message. “Both its style and vision,” says Pryor, “entitle it to consideration as the undelivered Gettysburg Address of the American Revolution.” Before he had a chance to deliver this speech, Washington was persuaded that it was too lengthy and, perhaps, too radical. Accordingly, the president-elect abandoned this version for the shorter one that has come down through history. It is surmised that the pages were among those distributed by Jared Sparks (1789-1866), the editor of the first collection of Washington's letters, which were published in the 1830s.

MEMORIAL OF THE SOUTHWEST

The first of 12 larger-than-life bronze figures planned for **The XII Travelers Memorial of the Southwest**, a walking-tour memorial made up of sculptures designed to honor the history and cultural diversity of El Paso, Texas, and the Southwest, will be unveiled during a ceremony on September 26 in that city's Pioneer Plaza. Standing 14 feet high, this statue depicts Fray García de San Francisco (?-1673), the seventeenth-century Franciscan missionary who is recognized as the



FRAY GARCÍA DE SAN FRANCISCO MONUMENT.

XII TRAVELERS MEMORIAL OF THE SOUTHWEST, INC.

founding father of the twin cities of El Paso and, across the Rio Grande, Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. The memorial will

continued on page 66

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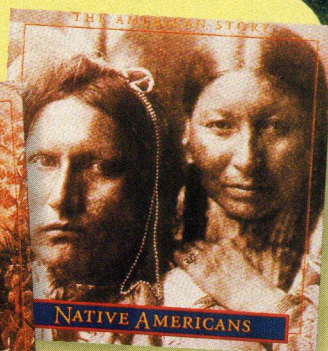
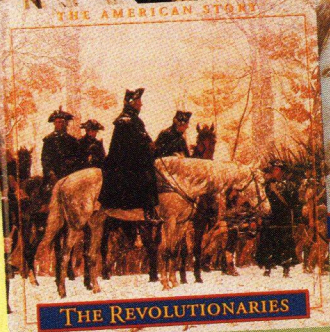
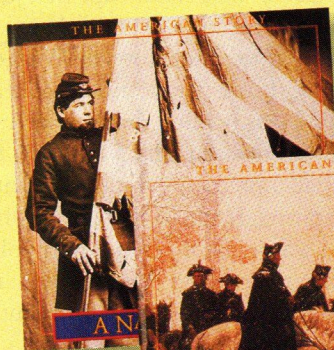
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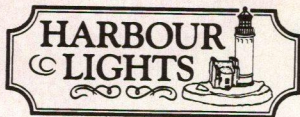


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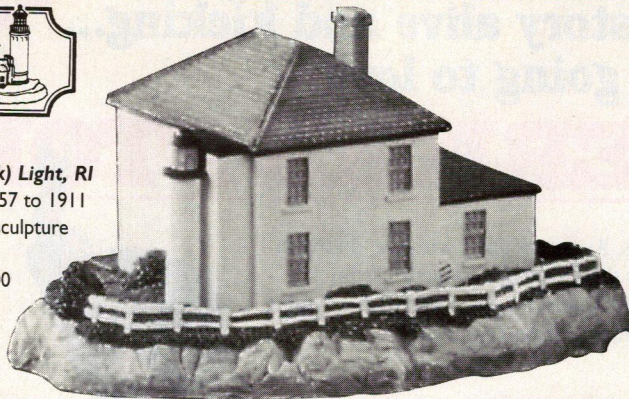
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**MAILBOX***continued from page 7*

Truman had done. I still resent it. Relieving MacArthur was probably necessary at some point in time, after all he was 71. But the quote in Colonel Harry Maihafer's article says it all. The real Truman comes out in it. "The son of a bitch," he said, "isn't going to resign on me! I want him fired!" Fifty-two years of service to your country count for nothing.

Donald W. Killmeyer
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

MACARTHUR'S LONG DEFENSE

MacArthur did attempt to carry his case to the American people [May/June 1996 issue]; we thought he would kill them, too. He spoke at the graduation at Michigan State University, taking the opportunity to defend his choices. It was a blazing hot day, and people in the football stadium were passing out from the heat—and from his one-and-a-half-hour speech. It is not hard to understand those who found him egomaniacal and self-possessed.

John Herr
Bonita Springs, Florida

**MACARTHUR REPUTATION
SELF-MADE**

I am also of that certain age that just remembers the end of World War II. But, by the time the Korean War came around, I was very much politically aware. I was reading the daily news and communiqués in *The New York Times* and had a pretty good idea of what was transpiring. By the time I got to University, I was a history minor and political science major who was widely read on General Douglas MacArthur and his "glory."

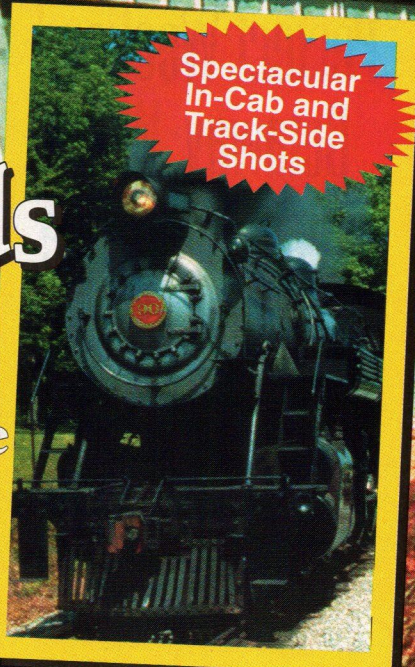
You have got it backward in the article on him. His was a poor record both on military matters and on general moralities. He repeatedly refused to obey civilian command and utilized the press for his own self-aggrandizement. His profiteering in the Philippines between the wars was typical of his rationale that there was a different code for "Mac" than for lesser soldiers. Having a clear warning of Japanese intents, he left the U.S. Air Corps on the ground in the Philippines to be destroyed before

continued on page 79

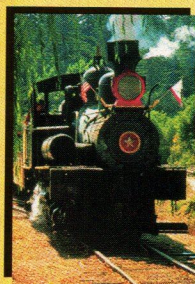
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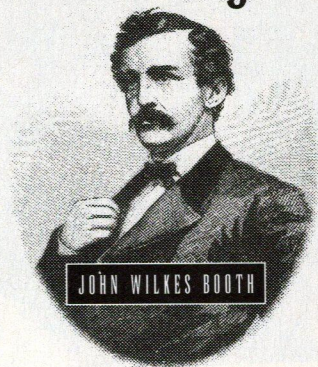
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MEDIA CENTER

continued from page 8

build this ultimate weapon of destruction. Biographies of the four principal scientists involved—J. Robert Oppenheimer (1904-67), Niels Bohr (1885-1962), Richard Feynman (1918-88), and Enrico Fermi (1901-54)—are also included, as are details of their work on what was known as the Manhattan Project. A timeline section traces the beginning of atomic science and its eventual impact on the world, as well as the research and development of the bomb at the weapons laboratory on an isolated mesa at Los Alamos, New Mexico. A series of compelling photographs vividly conveys the destruction wrought by the first two bombs dropped by U.S. air crews on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, in August 1945, bringing World War II to its conclusion.

THOMAS JEFFERSON: A VIEW FROM THE MOUNTAIN

(Lou Reda Productions, Inc., \$24.95). The documentary on the life of Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), produced for the Public Television Network by its Central Virginia station in 1994 is now available on video. The narrative highlights Jefferson's youth as a conscientious student who spent 14 to 15 hours a day in study; his inheritance of the family estate in Virginia at the age of 21; his role in the 1776 drafting of the Declaration of Independence and the inconsistencies between the tenets expressed in that document and his role as a slaveholder; his achievements as president, most notably the 1803 acquisition of the Louisiana Territory, a vast region that doubled the size of the new nation; the controversy surrounding his relationship with Sally Hemings, one of his slaves; his founding of the University of Virginia; and his death on July 4, 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence.

COMPTON'S ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN HISTORY

(Compton's New Media, \$59.95). The dramatic history of the United States is explored in this CD-ROM for Windows, based on the successful textbook, *American History: A Survey*, written by historian Alan Brinkley. Features include sixty detailed historical maps; an interactive timeline that allows the user to re-

view American history from 1485 to the 1990s; an atlas; more than 3,000 images; an on-line dictionary; and access to more than three hundred historical documents, including the Mayflower Compact, the U.S. Constitution, and the unratified Equal Rights Amendment.

LETTERS OF DELEGATES TO CONGRESS 1774 TO 1789

(Historical Database, \$175.00). Those interested in how the two sessions of the Continental Congress and later government under the Articles of Confederation guided the rebellious American colonies first to independence and then through the Revolutionary War to self-government between 1774 and 1789 may call on 22 volumes of letters exchanged by delegates to those assemblies, which have recently been published on CD-ROM for Windows. The compilation of the volumes contained in this program originated with a grant awarded by the Ford Foundation to the Library of Congress in 1970 to allow that institution to supplement Edmund C. Burnett's 1941 *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, which contained only about one third of some 18,000 documents. The letters were penned by delegates to representatives from other states and to their wives, sweethearts, friends, or political adversaries. Also included are diary entries, directives from Congressional committees, a chronology listing events that occurred during the period covered by each volume, and biographical information on each delegate. A total of 25 volumes, plus a separate index, is projected, with the additional material being made available to purchasers upon completion.

ALL ABOARD FOR PHILADELPHIA

(The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, \$21.95). This video, which makes extensive use of historic photography and archival film footage, traces life in the booming city of Philadelphia at the turn of the twentieth century. Divided into six sections—The Workshop of the World; Downtown; The Industrial Neighborhoods; The Streetcar Suburbs; The Railroad Suburbs; and The Struggle for Reform—the documentary explains how the arrival of new forms of transportation, such as the trolley, automobile, and railroad, changed the geographical and social shape of this major Pennsylvania city. ★

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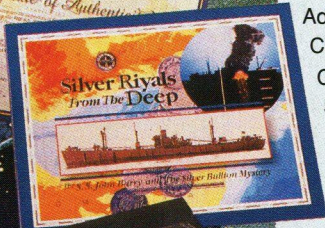
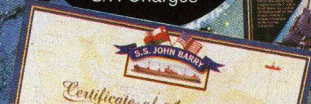
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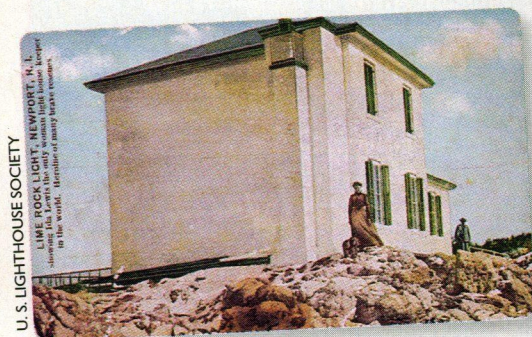
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KEEPER OF THE LIGHT

BY MARY LOUISE CLIFFORD ONLY 16 WHEN SHE EFFECTED HER FIRST RESCUE IN 1858, IDA LEWIS GAINED FAME AS KEEPER OF LIME ROCK LIGHT, OFF THE COAST OF NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND.



DURING THE NINETEENTH century, tending lighthouses along the nation's coasts was very much a family affair, as the Lighthouse Service made use of the free labor the keepers' spouses and offspring could provide. Not only sons, but wives and daughters learned to keep

the light burning and often replaced the men if they became disabled or died. Because the contributions of working women at the time were generally overlooked, very few of these women received credit for their accomplishments.

One woman lighthouse keeper whose career did garner public notice, however, was Idawalley Zoradia Lewis. Born in Newport, Rhode Island in 1842, Ida—as she was known—was the second of Captain Hosea Lewis and Idawalley Willey's four children. A former coast pilot whose health was declining, Hosea Lewis in 1853 became the first keeper of the beacon situated on tiny Lime Rock Island, a mere five hundred yards off Newport.

At first, the Lime Rock Light consisted only of a temporary lantern and a rough shed. With no suitable dwelling on the island, Lewis's family remained in Newport until 1857, when a Greek Revival structure was built on Lime Rock to serve both as a residence and a lighthouse. The square, two-story building, according to Newport journalist, George Brewerton, was “plain even to ugliness, containing a parlor, dining-room and hall, with an L serving as a kitchen below.” The light was reached by

When she was only 15 years old, Ida Lewis's father—keeper of the Lime Rock Light (above) off Newport, Rhode Island—suffered a stroke, making it necessary for her to take over his duties. During the next 54 years, she gained considerable fame for rescuing 18—some estimated 25—people from drowning (right).



COURTESY OF JOHN WITT AND U.S. COAST GUARD ART PROGRAM



a passage from the second floor. "Strangers," he wrote, "imagine a tower, more or less lofty, . . . and are consequently disappointed A narrow window, slightly projecting and fitted with glass upon three sides to hold the lamp, is all that the land-locked position of the place requires to fulfill the purpose for which it was erected."

Ida's bedroom, the writer remarked, was "fitted with a cheaply finished cottage set, [with] a rude painting of a sinking wreck upon the head-board of her couch . . . [I]ts two windows, one on either side, command a fine prospect of the harbor, looking toward the town."

When Captain Lewis suffered a stroke only four months after moving his family to Lime Rock, Ida helped with his care—and with that of a seriously ill sis-

ter—and assumed responsibility for tending the light. Her daily routine came to include trimming the wick, cleaning the carbon off the reflectors, and, at sundown and again at midnight, filling the lamp with oil. Each morning at dawn, she extinguished the light.

With so many responsibilities, Ida had no time to continue her schooling. Nonetheless, each weekday she rowed the other children to the mainland so that they might attend classes. In an era when it was rare to see a woman handling a boat, she became very skillful at maneuvering the heavy, wooden craft. Her father, himself an "old sailor," commented that there were times when he watched the children returning with Ida in a gale and "would not give a penny for their lives, so furious was the storm. . . . I

have watched them till I could not bear to look any longer, expecting any moment to see them swamped, and the crew at the mercy of the waves, and then I have turned away and said to my wife, let me know if they get safe in, for I could not endure to see them perish and realized that we were powerless to save them."

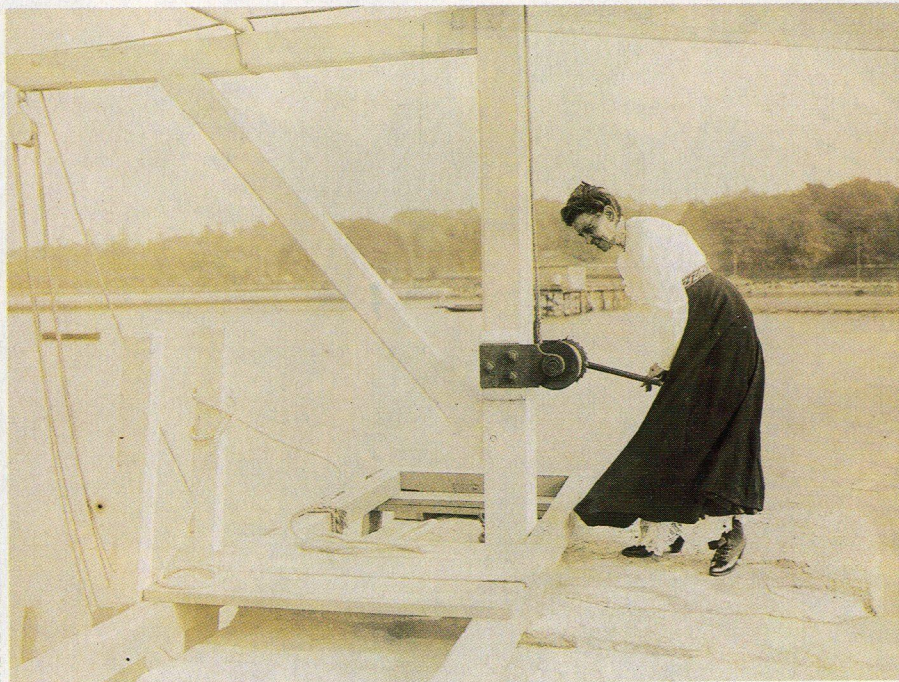
But thanks to Ida's skill with the oars, she and the children always made it home safely. An 1869 article in *Harper's Weekly* noted her "daily trips, whatever the weather, to Newport—one and a half miles from the light-house; and we may readily believe her when she claims that she can row a boat faster than any man in Newport." She was also reputed to be the best swimmer in the area.

Ida's rowing abilities were regularly



THE NEWPORT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Newspapers—such as *Harper's Weekly* (above)—brought Ida national fame by featuring stories about the young, female lighthouse keeper who could "row a boat faster than any man in Newport." Unaffected by the notoriety, she ably performed all of the duties associated with tending the Lime Rock Light (right, top and bottom) for more than a decade, until the Lighthouse Service finally appointed her keeper in her own right in 1879.



BROWN BROTHERS



THE NEWPORT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

steadied the boat with his oar.

Ida's fame spread quickly after this rescue. Stories appeared in *Putnam's* magazine, *The New York Tribune*, *Harper's Weekly*, and several other newspapers.

One writer speculated about whether rowing boats was a "feminine" activity, but concluded that only a "donkey" would consider the saving of lives to be "unfeminine."

Her heroism brought Ida a silver medal and a hundred-dollar stipend from the Life Saving Benevolent Association of New York. At a local parade in her honor on Independence Day, she was presented with a sleek mahogany rowboat, the *Rescue*, which was adorned with red velvet cushions, gold braid around the gun-

wales, and gold-plated oarlocks. And, for her efforts on behalf of one of their own, the soldiers at Fort Adams gave Ida a gold watch and chain.

George Brewerton went out to Lime Rock to interview the local hero for a pamphlet he wished to write. Accompanied by his son—"a juvenile greatly interested in Ida's dogs, rabbits and other Lime Rock pets"—he sat "in the snug kitchen of the light, with Ida in her favorite chair, the old invalid father occupying his corner by the stove . . . And then when our work for the day was done Ida would man her ordinary boat, not the new *Rescue* presented to her by the people of Newport, . . . but the familiar old friend in which she won her fame, like herself at once plain, common-sense and reliable. Then with the ready hand of the practiced rower she would play her oars till we were safely landed at the bridge, when waving her farewell with a promise to 'tell us more next time we came,' she would retrace her billowy way, cleaving the waves with steady stroke, while the ribbons of her sailor hat flutter gaily in the breeze." She also permitted Brewerton to paint her portrait and sell photographs of it for fifty cents apiece "throughout the Union."

Such was Ida's notoriety that President Ulysses S. Grant and Vice President Schuyler Colfax each visited her on separate occasions in 1869. Colfax made the trip out to the lighthouse to see her, but there are two versions of Ida's meeting with President Grant. According to one, Grant too went to Lime Rock, but

tested.

When she was only 16, she rescued four young men whose boat capsized after one of them, to tease his companions, shimmied up the mast and caused the boat to rock. Unable to swim, the boys shouted for help as they clung to the overturned hull. On hearing their screams, Ida rowed to their rescue. Although in their terror they almost dragged her overboard, she was able to haul all four into her boat and return them to land, the first of many rescues that would make her famous.

On March 29, 1869, Ida saved the lives of two drowning soldiers from nearby Fort Adams. When the U.S. Coast Guard commissioned John Witt to portray this event in a painting (pages 24-25), they instructed him to keep in mind that Ida always wore a shawl over her shoulders and a "standard brown poplin dress," and to be sure to "depict any rescue from the stern as Ida always brought the rescued person in from that location. Any other location would have capsized the boat." Although he was also told to "note the manner in which the oars are shipped," Witt instead depicted Ida extending an oar to one of the drowning men, while her younger brother Hosea

In gratitude for her 1869 rescue of two soldiers from nearby Fort Adams, the people of Newport presented Ida with a sleek, mahogany rowboat adorned with velvet cushions and gold-plated hardware (above). Ida (right), however, preferred to use a craft that was "like herself, at once plain, common-sense and reliable."

THE NEWPORT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BROWN BROTHERS



on trying to land, he stepped into the water. "I have come to see Ida Lewis," he reportedly remarked, "and to see her I'd get wet up to my armpits if necessary." The more prosaic version of the encounter has Ida rowing to shore and being conducted to the president's carriage to meet him and his wife, Julia.

The quiet of Lime Rock was disturbed by countless other curious visitors at-

mother was appointed lighthouse keeper; Ida, however, continued as always to perform the duties that went with the post. She saved the lives of three more soldiers in 1877, and finally, two years later, Ida officially became the keeper of Lime Rock Light, at a salary of \$500 a year.

The rescue of another two soldiers in 1881 led to Ida being awarded the U.S.

Ida was 63 years old when she made her last reported rescue, saving the life of a close friend. The woman, while rowing out to the lighthouse, stood up in her boat, lost her balance, and fell overboard. With all the vigor of her past youth, Ida launched a lifeboat, reached the woman, and hauled her aboard. Asked where she found the strength and courage for such a feat, Ida answered: "I don't know, I ain't particularly strong. The Lord Almighty gives it to me when I need it, that's all."

The next year, Ida was awarded a monthly pension of thirty dollars from the Carnegie Hero Fund and a gold medal from the American Red Cross Honor Society. During her 54 years on Lime Rock, Ida is credited with saving 18 lives, although unofficial reports suggest the number may have been as high as 25.

She continued to perform her duties until she suffered a paralyzing stroke in October 1911. Her brother believed that her condition had been caused by what she perceived to be criticism by the Lighthouse Service of the recent administration of her duties. When she died a month later, the bells on all the vessels in Newport's harbor tolled in her memory.

In 1924, the Rhode Island legislature voted to change the name of Lime Rock to Ida Lewis Rock, and soon after, the Lighthouse Service designated its beacon the Ida Lewis Lighthouse. It was the only time such an honor was paid to a keeper. Eventually, the Newport Yacht Club bought the Ida Lewis Lighthouse and obtained permission from the Coast Guard to restore the old lantern as a private aid to navigation.

Ida Lewis was just one of several hundred women who tended lighthouses and kept the lights burning along the nation's coasts night after night. At least 145 women won official keeper appointments by 1947, when all the lights were automated; twice that number served as assistant keepers. Many other women tended the lights for short periods following the deaths of fathers or brothers. The dedication, courage, and honor of these women helped to ensure the safety of all who plied the waters off America's shores. ★

Mary Louise Clifford is the author of 13 books, including 3 novels. Her latest book, Women Who Kept the Lights, was published in 1993 by Cypress Communications.



BROWN BROTHERS

Before she died in 1911, Ida (above) garnered numerous awards for her courage and zealous devotion to duty. In 1924, the Rhode Island legislature renamed the beacon she had tended so well "Ida Lewis Lighthouse" in her honor.

tracted by stories of Ida's daring. Her father, keeping track from his wheelchair, counted as many as a hundred on some days, nine thousand in one summer alone.

In addition to numerous gifts and letters, Ida received a number of marriage proposals, some of them offering to supply references as to good character. Ill at ease with her sudden fame, she at first resisted the offers that came her way. But in 1870, she married William Heard Wilson, a fisherman and seaman from Black Rock, Connecticut. The union lasted only two years, and though they did not divorce, Ida continued to use her family name.

When Ida's father died in 1872, her

Life Saving Service's highest medal. According to the Service's *Annual Report*, two soldiers, on February 4, had been "crossing on foot, at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, or near twilight, between [Fort Adams] and Lime Rock light-house, of which Mrs. Lewis-Wilson is the keeper, and suddenly fell through the ice, which had become weak and rotten." Their cries for help brought Ida running from the lighthouse with a rope, and though "in imminent danger of the soft and brittle ice giving way beneath her, and also of being dragged into the hole by the men, . . . she succeeded in hauling first one, and then the other, out of the water."

Her actions, it was noted, showed "unquestionable nerve, presence of mind, and dashing courage." Not long after this incident, the soft ice claimed two other men, who "fell through and were drowned, while crossing in the night in the immediate neighborhood of the scene of the rescue."

To watch us dance is to hear our hearts speak.

— Derrick "Suwaimá" Davis, Hopi/Choctaw



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'THE WEST' REVISITED

BY MARGARET FORTIER ON EIGHT NIGHTS IN SEPTEMBER, THE SAGA OF THE AMERICAN WEST WILL UNFOLD ON TV SCREENS ACROSS THE COUNTRY IN A NEW DOCUMENTARY SERIES BY ACCLAIMED FILMMAKER KEN BURNS.

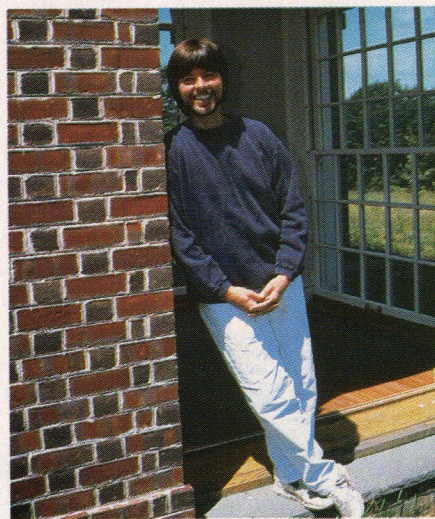
FEW THINGS ABOUT the West are exactly as most Americans perceive them. Even the mid-nineteenth-century admonition to "Go West, young man" has a complicated story attached to it. Usually attributed to Horace Greeley, editor of *The New York Tribune* and one of the founders of the Republican Party, the phrase really originated with a Hoosier by the name of John Babsone Lane Soule, who first used it in an article in the *Terre Haute, Indiana, Express* in 1851. Greeley, whose own fascination with the West led him to embark on a lengthy tour of the region in 1859, duly credited Soule as the source of his inspiration but made the phrase his own by adapting it to suit his needs on many occasions.

As early as 1984, before he even began work on his acclaimed documentary series *The Civil War*, filmmaker Ken Burns was considering heeding Greeley's—or Soule's—advice and heading west to examine that part of the United States where "so much of who we are, both mythically as well as factually," as a people has been defined. Because of his determination to follow *The Civil War* with *Baseball*, a series examining the national pastime as a metaphor for America's history, Burns looked for a colleague with whom he would feel confident enough to entrust his Western project during its formative stages, and he found one in Stephen Ives, who had worked with him on *The Civil War*.

The result of their collaboration—*The West*, an eight-episode series for which Burns served as executive producer and Ives as co-producer and director—will begin airing on Public

Television on September 15.

For Burns, this kind of working arrangement caused some anxiety. Accustomed to being totally in command of his projects, he worried that "I wouldn't be as good a foster parent as I am a parent



GMIOWEN COMORA

of my other films" For Ives, on the other hand, it offered the opportunity to give the project more of his own stamp. "I tend to take a slightly more eclectic approach [than Ken]," he says, "I use more original cinematography; I rely more on technical devices . . . ; and I experimented with a musical score that incorporates different instruments and styles."

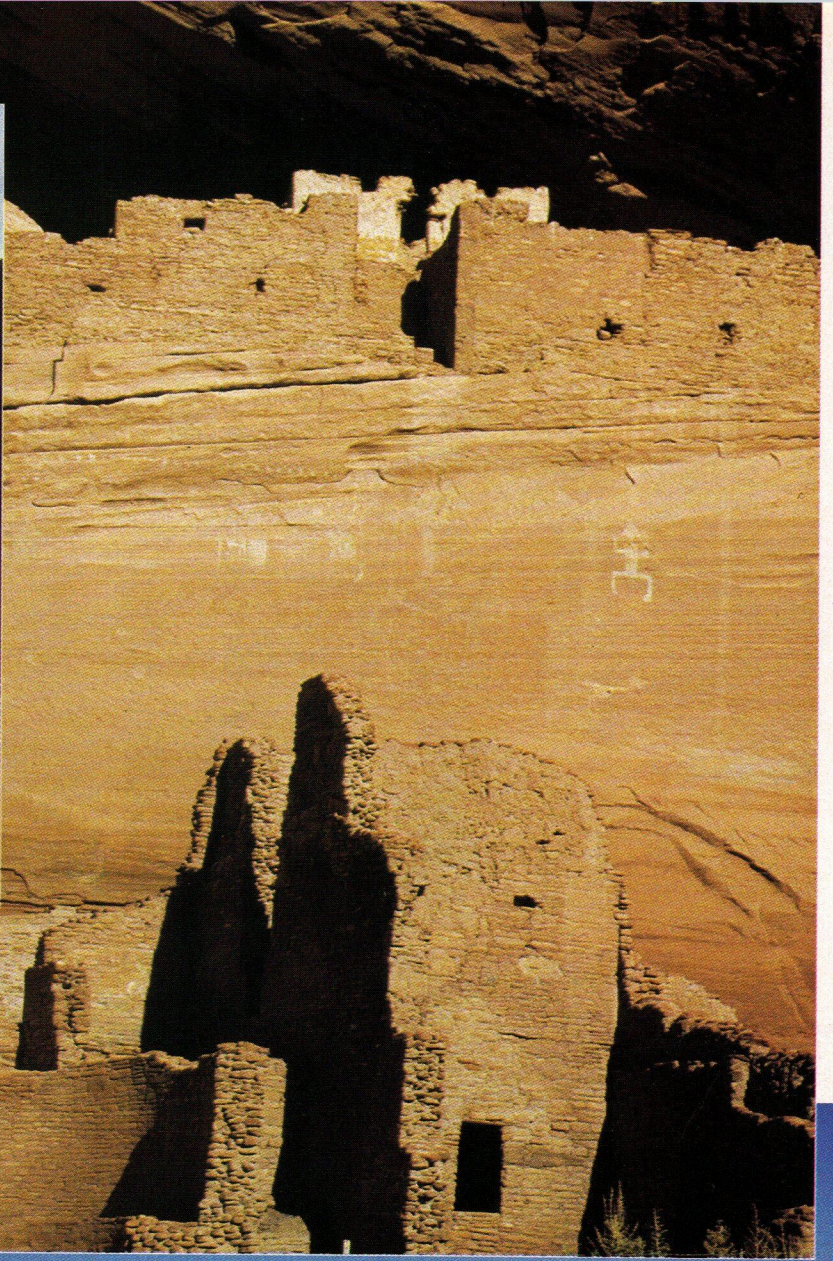
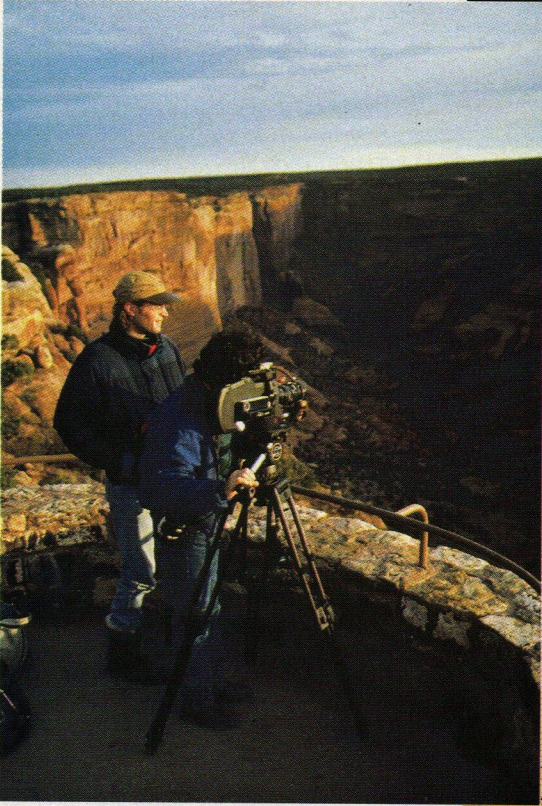
Both Burns and Ives feel that the collaborative arrangement worked well. While Burns completed *Baseball*, Ives and his team spent the next few years logging 100,000 air miles, filming 72 interviews, shooting more than 250 hours of original footage, and rummaging through many archives and private photo collections. Then, by the fall of 1994, the film was

ready for Burns to work his magic in the editing room. "I've never met anyone who gives you as much sheer creative input in the editing room in one day as Ken does," says Ives. Because he had not been heavily involved in the project on a day-to-day basis up to that point, Burns was able to offer a valuable "perspective and sense of distance" that Ives appreciated. "After five years, the subjects become so familiar to you that being able to step back and see the larger context is perhaps one of the harder things to do."

Given the scope of the subject, the first priority was setting the parameters that would govern what was included and what would be left on the cutting room floor. Defining "the West" is in itself difficult. After much deliberation, they decided that, for the purposes of this project, the West begins at the Mississippi River with the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 and

In addition to the phenomenally successful series, The Civil War and Baseball, Ken Burns (above), the executive producer of The West, has been responsible for such documentaries as the Academy Award-nominated films Brooklyn Bridge and The Statue of Liberty. Stephen Ives, The West's co-producer and director who worked with Burns on The Civil War and The Congress, also has Lindbergh and Where the Heart Is to his credit. During the filming of The West, Ives (opposite, upper left) and his crew traveled widely, gathering location footage for the series at such spots as Canyon de Chelly, Arizona (opposite, upper right), and the Custer National Cemetery at Little Big Horn National Battlefield in Montana (opposite, bottom).

BOTH PHOTOS: GIMMICHAEL COMORA





J. DAVID LOVE FAMILY



THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS HISTORICAL ARCHIVES

Believers in "history from the bottom up," Burns and Ives tell the story of the West as much as possible through the experiences of representative individuals. Among those featured in the series are Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce (left, bottom), who became a legend as he led his people for several years in resisting the U.S. Army's attempts to force them onto a reservation in Idaho; Emmeline Wells (left), a devout Mormon with a firm belief in plural marriages who was, nonetheless, a feminist and crusader for women's right to vote; and the Loves—Wellesley College graduate and schoolteacher Ethel Waxham and rancher John Galloway Love (Shown above with two of their children)—whose courtship, marriage, and determination to make a life in the West typified so many who headed there in search of a fresh start.



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the journey of exploration during the next three years by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. "The story of America flinging its borders to the Pacific Ocean and becoming the continental nation that we know today," Ives explains, "is, inescapably, the great story of the West."

Recognizing the limitations that this definition imposes, the filmmakers have devoted the first episode of the series to the years before the Lewis and Clark expedition, examining the North American continent and its indigenous people before the

coming of the Europeans; the Spanish penetration of the New World during the sixteenth century; and the settlement of the Eastern seaboard. This segment, Ives points out, is an attempt "to make sure that the incredible diversity, the complexity of the Native American world, was established and understood before we talked about the Europeans who would descend on that world and change it forever."

Even by restricting themselves to a specific time period—the series ends with the beginning of World War I—and a limited geographic area, Burns and Ives had difficulty deciding what would find its way into the film. Believers in "history from the bottom up" rather than from the top down and in the notion that "history really is biography," they attempted to "focus on the experiences of individual men and women, many of whom tell their own stories in their own words, through diaries and letters and autobiographical accounts."

Mythic figures such as George Armstrong Custer, Kit Carson, and "Buffalo Bill" Cody will be featured in the series, Ives hastens to point out, but "you'll also meet Buffalo Bird Woman, a fascinating woman who grew up in the Hidatsa clan of the Upper Missouri River. You'll meet Chung Sun, an immigrant Chinese who came to California to start a tea planta-

tion and got caught up in the riots of the 1880s. You'll meet William Swain, a farmer from upstate New York, who heads West to seek his fortune with thousands of other 49ers on the trail."

Among Burns's favorite stories is that of Mormon leader Brigham Young and his "single-minded pursuit of finding a sanctuary" for his persecuted followers—ironically in a land founded on the principle of religious freedom—which allowed him to persevere in an inhospitable locale. Burns finds himself moved by the image of what it must have been like for Young "to dip down into the water of the Great Salt Lake to taste it and suddenly realize that it is salt, and yet saying this is where

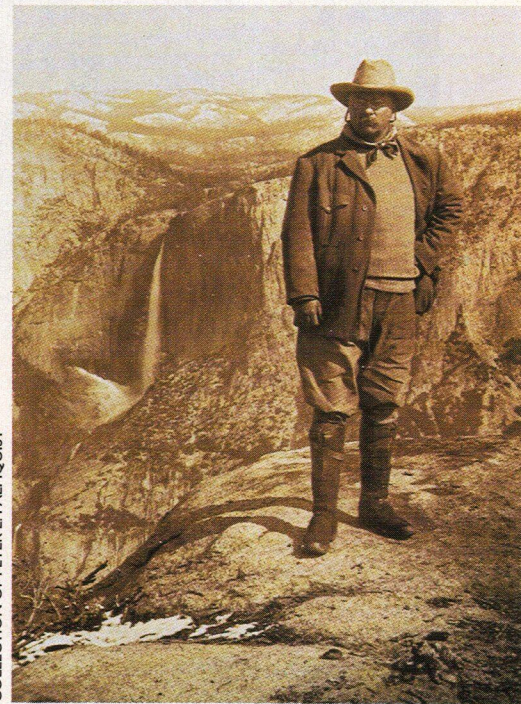
we'll build our community. And that you would dig and find fresh water and begin within the first week to irrigate potato fields. That is a great, great story."

Having received criticism for omitting some topics from *The Civil War* or for the emphasis—or lack thereof—given others in that production, Burns knows that some viewers will be unhappy about the selections he and Ives have made. "What you have to do," he believes, "is admit to yourself and your audience that, as long as a series that is 12.5 hours long seems to be, it nonetheless is not comprehensive; it's only scratching the surface. . . . So you can't do every tribe. You can't do every chief. . . . You can't tell every pioneer's sto-

Clockwise from top, left: Stories of men like "Buffalo Bill" Cody—a real-life buffalo hunter whose later "Wild West" shows carried the popular image of the region around the world, as this French advertisement indicates—helped to blur the line between the myth and reality of the West; President Theodore Roosevelt, who spent three years ranching in the Dakotas in the 1880s became an ardent environmentalist and conservationist devoted to the West; the legendary Texas Rangers, one of whom is shown here, were among the lawmen who gained fame as they helped to tame the West; and, aware that the lifeways and culture of Native Americans were in danger, some forward-thinking individuals preserved what they could, as in this early attempt at sound recording.



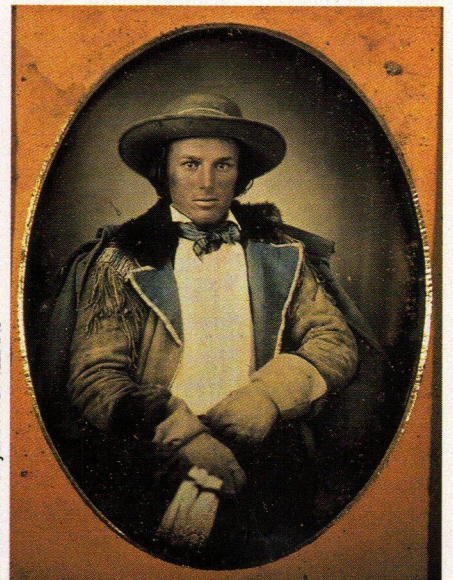
BUFFALO BILL HISTORICAL CENTER



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NEBRASKA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The “geography of hope” offered by the West brought members of all ethnic and racial groups to the region. The Spanish presence in the American West began in the sixteenth century. The Don Vicente Lugo family is pictured (top, left) in California in 1870. The discovery of gold near San Francisco in 1849 brought such an influx of people, including these Chinese miners (top, right), that California’s population increased almost tenfold in just three years. Finally free, many blacks—such as the would-be emigrants shown here waiting for a steamer (bottom, left)—headed west during the years following the Civil War in search of opportunities. One such family, the Shores, poses in front of their Custer County, Nebraska, homestead in 1887.

ry. You can’t visit every instance of exploitation of the land, say in mining. But you can go to one place and do it well, and that is what we try to do.”

Burns, in tackling projects such as this, views himself and his associates as “emotional archaeologists. . . . We excavate particular moments in the past that are not just interesting in themselves, and have a sort of radioactive half-life that have meaning beyond the specifics of their story.” The accounts presented

thus represent experiences of all those that, of necessity, had to be passed over.

In addition to the other problems facing them, Burns and Ives had to grapple, especially in this era of political correctness and revisionist history, with the question of balance. For Burns, history is a “dangerously swinging pendulum” For too long, he maintains, “the white narrative” dominated, with “sturdy pioneers beating off savage Indians, and then, in the last twenty years . . . it’s all about the native peoples and their exquisite and perfect wisdom. Neither version of the West is true. And, oddly enough, in a superficial medium like film, you’re able to put your arm around and contain both sides” It is possible to present both the image of what Wallace Stegner calls the “geography of hope”—that the West represented an answer for “Americans who were going to start over, have a new life, find a new fortune, have a new marriage, worship God the way they want to”—and of the “complicated tragedy” that westward migration of Europeans was for the Native Americans in their paths.

Indeed, the most fascinating thing about the West for Ives is “the collision of cultures, the fact that the West was a meeting

ground, and an often violent meeting ground. You can’t tell the history of the West without Sand Creek or Wounded Knee, but you also can’t tell it without those painful experiences on the other side. . . . [As the historian Tom Watkins says], it is impossible to look at the history of the West without feeling a mixture of both pride and shame. And I think that is an extremely healthy way to look at our history, to recognize the incredible pride for what this nation did and what this nation accomplished in becoming the continental United States and to never forget the painful consequences of that experience for the people who stood in the way.”

It is interesting, Burns adds, that “our [traditional] narrative of the West is about white people, wagon trains being surrounded by Indians when, in fact, they are the victims. . . . There are so few massacres of whites on a grand scale compared to the devastation that our ‘geography of hope’ wreaked on native peoples. How bizarre it is that we should turn the myth of the West around and have it be Europeans being pursued by Indians, when, in fact, disease killed nine out of ten before we even arrived—through blankets and

continued on page 74



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MOUNTAIN LEGEND

BY MICHAEL MARTIN BORN TO A SLAVE & A VIRGINIA ARISTOCRAT, JIM BECKWOURTH BECAME A LEGEND IN THE AMERICAN WEST AS A RUGGED MOUNTAIN MAN, A TELLER OF TALL TALES, & AN INDIAN WAR CHIEF.

STANDING MORE THAN six feet tall, dressed in buckskins and beads, and sporting earrings and waist-length black hair braided into rolls, Jim Beckwourth must have cut a striking figure. Although stories of the bold escapades of this “larger than life” character spread throughout the West, making him a legend in his own lifetime, early chroniclers of the region generally agreed that the famed frontiersman was absolutely untrustworthy, and a notorious liar to boot. Beckwourth’s deeds were celebrated among fellow mountain men, but the harsh judgments of those who never knew him prevailed long after his death.

A closer look at Beckwourth’s life today, however, reveals a strikingly different picture. Almost everyone who met him remarked on his intelligence, good humor, and kindly, open nature. According to one of his peers, Beckwourth was one of only three men known to have always dealt fairly with the Indians—the other two being Kit Carson and Daniel Boone.

James (Jim) Pierson Beckwith* was born around 1800. His father was Jennings Beckwith, grandson of Sir Marmaduke Beckwith of Richmond County, Virginia; his mother was a black

*The spelling of his name was changed by T. D. Bonner, to whom Beckwourth dictated his life story.



woman and almost certainly a slave. Wealthy, influential Virginians, the Beckwiths traced their ancestry back to English nobility.

Jennings, however, found the aristocratic life lacking. Disinterested in acquiring more land or money, he doted on his several mixed-blood children and indulged the major passion in his life, the outdoors. He fished and hunted year-round and was quite content to live with Indians for weeks at a time while taking pleasure in those pursuits.

When Jim was about eight years old, the family moved to near St. Charles, Missouri, which was then on the very edge of the western frontier. The relocation, which provided Jennings with new hunting and fishing opportunities, probably was undertaken because the frontier offered a more tolerant atmosphere for a white man living openly with a black woman.

Little is known of Jim’s childhood, although he obviously inherited his father’s independent spirit and love of the wild. Children of slaves rarely received

schooling, yet Jim did attend classes and learned how to read and write. Years later, after he had become well known, people were usually surprised to find him not only literate, but, in fact, quite articulate.

Although not raised a slave, Jim remained one in the eyes of the law, and legal records show that Jennings had to go to court three times to swear out his son’s Deed of Manumission. When Jim left for the Rocky Mountains in the early 1820s, he went as a free man.

Beckwourth and other young men who joined trapping expeditions heading out across the Plains were seeking adventure and personal financial gain. Few ever became wealthy, but some—those who would come to be known as “mountain men”—fell in love with life in the wild. Hired by General William Henry Ashley’s Rocky Mountain Fur Company, Beckwourth learned how to use a gun, bowie

One of the larger-than-life characters of the American West, Jim Beckwourth (right) was born in about 1800 in Virginia to a black mother and white father; grew up in Missouri, then the edge of the nation’s western frontier; and lived a life of adventure that saw him become, for a time, a Crow war chief (above).





BUFFALO BILL HISTORICAL CENTER

Beckwourth left Missouri for the Rocky Mountains in the early 1820s and lived as a "mountain man," such as those depicted in this Alfred Jacob Miller painting Greeting the Trappers. Able to pass for an Indian, he lived for periods of time among the Crow and the Blackfoot.

knife, and tomahawk and soon became a tough wilderness fighter.

For those who, like Beckwourth, possessed the skills and the courage needed to meet the considerable challenge of survival, the Western mountains during the mid-nineteenth century represented what has been called the ultimate opportunity for personal freedom. With the constraints of their own culture several hundred miles behind them, the mountain men made their way in the vast unspoiled wilderness of seemingly unlimited expanse. As Beckwourth put it, there was "room to wander without any man to call your steps in question."

Wandering apparently suited him very well; except for one brief visit, 12 years passed before he returned to the settlements. Unlike some who were attracted to the mountains, Beckwourth was not a

loner or a misfit. He exhibited a talent for storytelling and had a natural flair for languages. In addition to speaking fluent French and Spanish, he eventually mastered most Indian dialects.

The spinning of tall tales was of considerable importance to mountain men. While ensconced in some snowbound valley awaiting spring's arrival, they greatly appreciated a man who could entertainingly embellish a story. As a noted Western scholar has commented: "To be a gifted liar was as much a part of mountain honor as hard drinking or straight shooting."

Beckwourth and Jim Bridger, a fur trader and scout from Richmond, Virginia, became the champion tall-story tellers of the mountains. Within the context of Beckwourth's place and time that label was a source of pride. But taken out of that context—as it would be years later when his autobiography was published—it would severely harm his reputation.

Part of the problem lay in the types of stories the two men told. Bridger's were outlandish. He used to relate, for example, how he once shot at an elk that refused to move. Eventually, he determined that a mountain of glass, acting as

a giant magnifier, stood between him and his prey, which was actually 25 miles away.

Beckwourth, on the other hand, tended to embellish true—or conceivably true—events. A typical story told of Beckwourth and a companion escaping on foot from several hundred Blackfoot Indians. As his partner was a poor runner, Beckwourth told him to hide in a creek while he led their pursuers on a marathon chase. "A thousand ideas peopled my feverish brain," he said, and, as the day wore on, he began to suffer from hunger and thirst. With the sun setting and bullets whizzing all around, Beckwourth stumbled into the safety of camp at the last possible moment. The story ended with his claim that "According to the closest calculations, I ran that day ninety-five miles." Such tales, spun with mounting suspense and the proper degree of solemnity, provided wonderful entertainment for fellow mountaineers. Committed to paper, however, they came across as lies and braggadocio.

Strangely enough, another man's tall tale led Beckwourth to his most talked-about adventure. During the summer of 1828, Caleb Greenwood, a fellow trap-

per, “invented a fiction” by telling a group of Crow Indians that Beckwourth had been born a Crow, but had been kidnapped by Cheyenne and sold to the whites. Believing the story, the Crow were very eager for their long lost “son” to return to them. Later that year, Beckwourth obliged.

His recollection of how that move came about sounds highly suspicious, but the story must have been great fun for him and his audiences. Supposedly, Beckwourth and Bridger were out hunting when Bridger witnessed his comrade being taken captive by a large group of Indians. Not recognizing them as Crow—a tribe friendly toward whites—Bridger returned to camp and announced to a forlorn group the certain death of their companion.

As Beckwourth told it: “The faithful fellows little thought that, while they were lamenting my untimely fall, I was being hugged and kissed to death by a whole lodgeful of near and dear crow relatives—and that I was being welcomed with a public reception fully equal in intensity, though not in extravagance, to that accorded to the victor of Waterloo on his triumphal entry into Paris.”

All of the old women whose sons had been captured by the Cheyenne years earlier were summoned to the lodge. The women “. . . breathless with excitement, their eyes wild and protruding, and their nostrils dilated, arrived in squads, until the lodge was filled to overflowing. I believe never was [a] mortal gazed at with such intense and sustained interest as I was on that occasion. . . . At length one old woman, after having scanned my visage with the utmost intentness, came forward and said, ‘If this is my son, he has a mole over one of his eyes.’ My eyelids were immediately pulled down to the utmost stretch of their elasticity, when, sure enough, she discovered a mole just over my left eye. . . . such shouts of joy as were uttered by that honest-hearted woman were seldom before heard, while all the crow took part in her rejoicing.”

Regardless of the actual circumstances, Beckwourth did remain with the Crow until 1836. During that time, the American Fur Company paid him to supply his “relatives” with trade goods in exchange for furs and buffalo robes.

In theory, a trader living with the Crow could make more money since there would be less danger of ambush by hostile Indians. Beckwourth, however, seems to have belonged to that breed of men who continually seek out danger;

certainly he embraced Crow ways too enthusiastically for financial gain or personal safety to have been considerations.

Beckwourth adopted the Crow manner of dress so convincingly that, on occasion, he would startle unsuspecting

A MAN'S WORLD

According to Beckwourth's autobiography, in addition to living with the Crow, he also spent time with the Blackfoot, fitting easily into their way of life. However, given his background, he found their practice of acquiring scalps during attacks on white settlers difficult to accept. One day, a group of Indians rode into the camp carrying three white-men's scalps. Beckwourth was disgusted at the sight but dared not express his true feelings. Later, as was their practice, the Blackfoot held a celebratory scalp dance that featured singing and dancing. When Beckwourth's Blackfoot wife wanted to join the merrymaking, he forbade her, saying that “these scalps belonged to my people; my heart is crying for their death; you must not rejoice when my heart cries; you must not dance when I mourn.”

Expecting that his wife would obey him, Beckwourth was shocked to hear that she “out-dances them all” at the festivities. He ran toward the ring of dancers, infuriated by her insubordination and “struck my disobedient wife a heavy blow in the head with the side of my battle-axe, which dropped her as if a ball had pierced her heart.” Then he “dragged her through the crowd, and left her . . .” Amid cries of “Kill him; burn him” from the Indians, Beckwourth went back to his tent, anticipating retaliation at any moment.



To Beckwourth's amazement, As-as-to—his wife's father and the head chief—calmed the angry mob by reminding them that “When your wives disobey your command, you kill them; that is your right. . . . He did as you all would have done, and you shall neither kill or harm him.” Having restored order, the chief then offered Beckwourth another of his daughters, who, he assured his son-in-law, “is more beautiful; she has good sense and good ears. You may have her in the place of the bad one; she will hearken to all you say to her.”

During the night, as Beckwourth and his new wife were sleeping, his first wife, weeping bitterly, crept into his tent. Presumed dead by everyone, she had lain senseless on the ground for several hours before regaining consciousness and crawling back to Beckwourth's lodge. He called to her: “Go away . . . you have no business here; I have a new wife now, one who has sense.” But she pleaded with him until he decided to adopt another Blackfoot custom, that of polygamy. ★

whites by addressing them in English. He accepted the customs of the Crow and conformed to their ways very easily, taking a succession of Indian wives and



MONTANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Like trapper and scout Jim Bridger (above), Beckwourth became a champion teller of tall tales, a talent highly regarded among mountain men, who could spend long winters marooned together with nothing to do but listen to each other's stories.

eventually rising to prominence as a war chief; a title that did not necessarily connote leadership, but was conferred on those who performed certain heroic feats in battle. The evidence, however, suggests that Beckwourth did have great influence within the tribe.

His autobiography has been called one of the goriest American books ever written. Readers must wade through an endless string of battle narratives that detail the taking of ludicrous numbers of enemy scalps. However, when allowances are made for numerical exaggeration and Beckwourth's natural sense of theater, the picture that emerges from his account is reasonably accurate. The Crow, after all, were a military society in which personal prestige depended solely on success in battle.

Still, it was lucky for Beckwourth that his most famous exploit had independent verification. The battle of Blackfoot Fortress was witnessed by several white men, among them, a trapper named Zenas Leonard. On November 21, 1833, a group of Blackfoot were discovered deep

in Crow territory. Outnumbered, they took refuge in a natural stone "fortress" on the brow of a hill. Attempts by some five to seven hundred Crow warriors to dislodge them ended with heavy loss of life on their side.

Losing heart, the Crow were about to retreat when Beckwourth climbed up on a rock and addressed the gathering. During a long, impassioned speech, he reminded the Crow warriors that "If we get killed, our friends who love us here will mourn our loss, while those in the spirit land will sing and rejoice to welcome us there, if we ascend to them dying like braves." Then, asserting that he was not afraid, Beckwourth jumped from the rock and ran alone toward the Blackfoot. His judgment of Crow psychology proved sound, as his "brothers" followed right behind. It was an exceptionally bloody assault, and when the carnage ended, all the Blackfoot were dead. The accounts of Beckwourth and Leonard differ on only one detail: Beckwourth's version of the story gives the number of scalps taken as 166, but Leonard counted 69.

After eight years with the Crow, Beckwourth began to grow weary of the relentless warring. "In good truth," he wrote, "I was tired of savage life under any aspect." So, in the summer of 1836, he left for St. Louis only to return briefly the following year. When an outbreak of smallpox struck the Indians, it was suggested that Beckwourth had returned for the purpose of intentionally introducing the disease into their midst. Since few men liked or respected Indians as Beckwourth did—and since he had not traveled near the area where the outbreak began—the charge was ridiculous. Nonetheless, the slander found its way into print and circulated throughout the West.

Beckwourth's next adventure took him to an unlikely setting for a mountain man.

For several months during 1837-38, he served with distinction fighting Indians during the Second Seminole War in Florida and undertook the dangerous job of carrying military dispatches. Pay records reveal that, as a civilian employee of the Army, Beckwourth received fifty dollars per month, more than six times the pay of an enlisted man. But the war's pace proved too slow for Beckwourth's taste, so he returned the following summer to St. Louis. For the next ten years, he roamed the Southwest, trading with the Indians or carrying mail for the government.

Since his exploits while with the Crow had become common knowledge, Beckwourth could have experienced difficulty in dealing with their mortal enemies, the Cheyenne. But Beckwourth met the problem head-on with typical audacity: "I have killed a great Crow Chief, and am obliged to run away or be killed by them. I have come to the Cheyennes, who are the bravest people in the mountains, as I do not wish to be killed by any of the inferior tribes. I have come here to be killed by the Cheyennes, cut up and thrown out

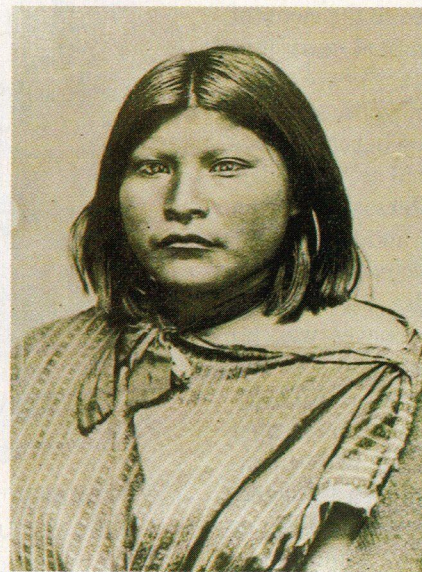
for their dogs to eat, so that they may say they have killed a great Crow chief."

Such talk shocked Beckwourth's less-experienced companions. As he expected, however, the Cheyenne were flattered and became his friends. That friendship would cause Beckwourth sadness later on, but, in the meantime, he exercised an uncanny knack for being present as history was being made.

During the 1840s, Beckwourth helped

found the city of Pueblo, Colorado; traveled to California; and then participated in the insurrection in what is now New Mexico. He also ran the most famous saloon in Santa Fe, a "grand resort for liquor-imbibing, monte-playing, and fandango-disposed American officers and men."

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COLORADO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

During his years among the Crow and Blackfoot, Beckwourth took several Indian wives. Sue Beckwourth (above) was the last.

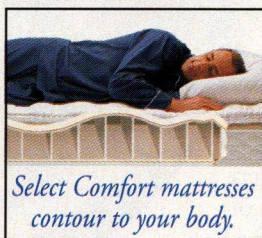
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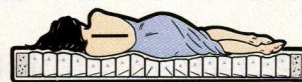
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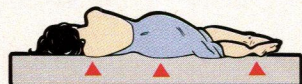
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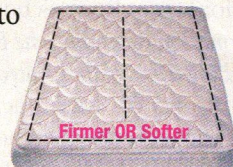
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SETH EASTMAN'S WEST

BY PATRICIA CONDON JOHNSTON A SERIES OF WATERCOLORS BY SETH EASTMAN, THE FOREMOST NINETEENTH-CENTURY PICTORIAL HISTORIAN OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN, IS NOW ACCESSIBLE TO THE PUBLIC.

IN LATE 1994, the James Jerome Hill Reference Library in St. Paul, Minnesota, sold its collection of 56 Seth Eastman watercolors depicting Native American life on the Western frontier to W. Duncan MacMillan, a director of Cargill, Inc. of nearby Wayzata. The largest extant collection of Eastman watercolors, the paintings had been in the library since its completion in 1920, and before that, in Hill's personal library at his Summit Avenue home in St. Paul.

This stunning collection comprises paintings prepared mainly for Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's gigantic six-volume work, *Information Regarding the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, which was published between 1851 and '57. Monumentally important as American art, the paintings are also paramount to an understanding of Dakota and Ojibwa life in Minnesota in the 1840s. In addition to the Minnesota paintings, the collection includes works based on Eastman's experiences in Texas and his visits to other parts of the country; landscapes drawn from nature; maps relating to Native American ethnography and history; and depictions of Indian artifacts.

Widely regarded as the foremost pictorial historian of the American Indian in the nineteenth century, Eastman was a career army officer and talented artist with a keen eye for cultural detail. Assigned to frontier duty, including a seven-year stint at Fort Snelling in Minnesota, Captain Eastman recorded such things as winter villages, temporary summer encampments, and Indian burial grounds; courtship and marriage customs; and medicine men concocting potions and ministering to the sick, as he set out to preserve a visual record of even the most commonplace activities of everyday Indian life, which was then undergoing rapid change.

For many years, the paintings were kept largely under wraps, locked in a safe at the Hill Library, which more recently was moving away from its original mission as a general reference library toward becoming a more specialized facility that focused on business. The decision to sell the artworks, which was severely criticized in the local press, was predicated on the library's changing needs and budgetary concerns. Proceeds from the sale were added to the library's endowment to support general operations.

With the Eastman paintings now in private hands, however, they will be more accessible to a wider public than was previously the case. MacMillan, also president of the Afton Historical Society Press in Afton, Minnesota, has already published a lavish, coffee-table book—*Seth*



Between 1849 and '55, Seth Eastman—shown above in a self-portrait—used the knowledge he had gained as a U.S. Army officer in the West and his artistic talents to illustrate books penned by his wife Mary, and by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft. All of the drawings reproduced on the following pages illustrated their publications. "The Laughing Waters[,] Three miles below the Falls of St. Anthony" (right) appeared in Mary Eastman's *The Iris*. An *Illustrated Souvenir* for 1852, a collection of 18 stories and poems. Eastman based this rendition of the falls, located near Fort Snelling, Minnesota, on another he had drawn from a more distant vantage point. For the purpose of his wife's poems, he took artistic license and added the figure of an Indian shooting with bow and arrow at a deer fleeing across to the other bank.



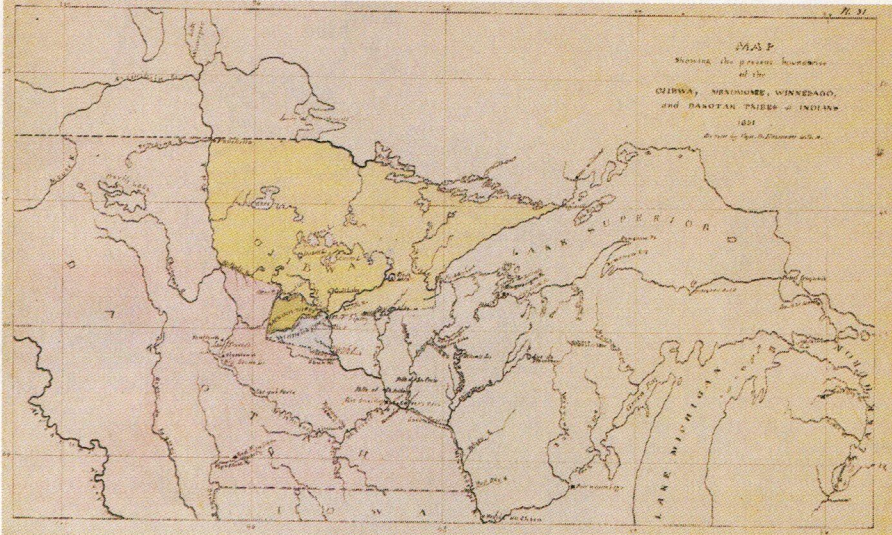
Eastman: A Portfolio of North American Indians—showcasing the collection. Publication of the book was celebrated with an exhibition of the paintings at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts; the artworks will also travel to other museums throughout the country.

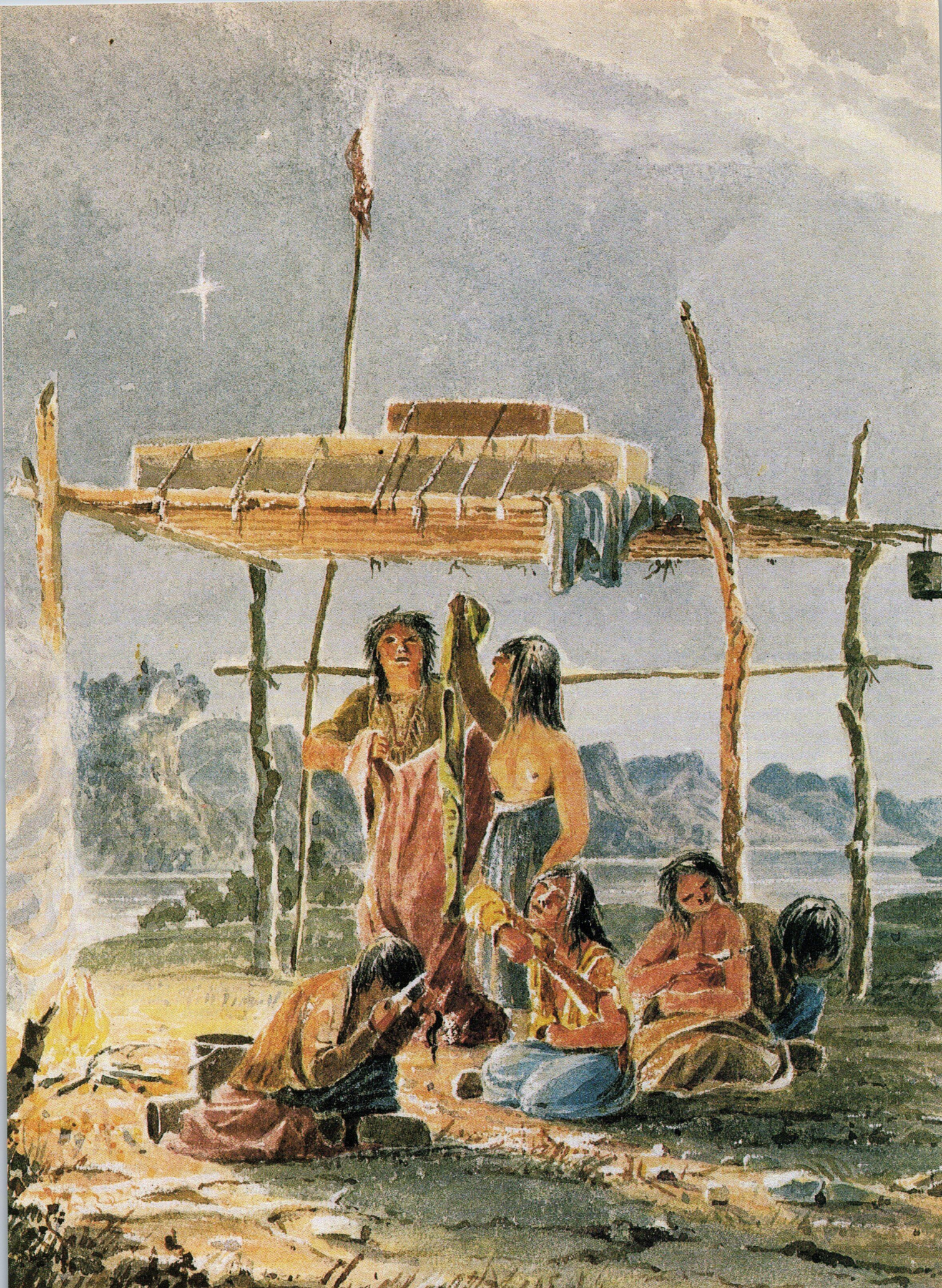
“Not everything you touch has to make money,” said MacMillan. “I didn’t want to see the collection broken up and

scattered. . . . It seemed to me that if it was possible to acquire them, we could keep them together on behalf of the people of Minnesota. The Eastmans are an extraordinary resource and legacy.”

Born in Brunswick, Maine, on January 24, 1808, Seth was the eldest of 13 children of Robert and Sarah Lee Eastman. A gentleman devoted to scientific pursuits

Eastman’s “Map Showing the present boundaries of the Ojibwa, Menomonee, Winnebago, and Dakota Tribes of Indians[,] 1851” (left) and both drawings shown here appeared in Schoolcraft’s six-volume *Information Regarding the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, published between 1851 and ‘57. His “Indian Medas Secretly Showing the Contents of their Medicine Sacks to Each Other” (below) depicts members of one of the secret, limited-membership “medicine societies”—midewiwin in Ojibwa—through which Native Americans sought to develop means to combat the devastating effects of diseases introduced to the New World by Europeans. Levels of membership evolved within the societies, with the upper grades or priests—whom Schoolcraft called “Medas”—deriving their powers from many sources, including ties, acquired in visions, to supernatural powers. In “Mourning for the Dead” (right) Eastman portrays the acts of self-mortification—from the simple blackening of faces and cutting of hair to the making of deep cuts in arms or legs—used by some Native Americans to demonstrate their grief and misery at the death of a relative.







Eastman was introduced to the Comanche during a nine-month stay in Texas in the late 1840s. There is, however, little evidence that he ever personally witnessed a scene comparable to the one he depicted in "Emigrants Attacked by the Comanches," which appeared in Schoolcraft's monumental work. The Comanche had taken to the horse so well that they were among the few Native American peoples who actually bred the useful animal, which was imported to the region by the early Spanish explorers.

and a talented inventor, Robert hoped to send his firstborn son to Maine's Bowdoin College, where he had friends among the faculty, but young Seth had a dream of his own. Enamored with soldiering—a great-great-grandfather, Captain Ebenezer Eastman, had taken part in the reduction of the Fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island in 1745—the lad at length persuaded his father to allow him to attend the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York. Sixteen years old when he entered the Academy in July 1824, he spent five fruitful years there, preparing to be both a military man and an artist.

A two-year course taught by Thomas

Gimbredé, a French-born miniaturist and engraver, at the school's Drawing Academy, gave Eastman training in sketching the human form, landscape studies, and topographical drawing. The purpose of the course was to turn out practical draftsmen with engineering skills who could provide civil services for the developing nation, but drawing was also deemed valuable for processing information and honing perception.

Although otherwise an undistinguished scholar, Eastman graduated in 1829 at the top of his drawing class. The new second lieutenant's first assignment took him halfway across the continent to Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. There Colonel Zachary Taylor was rebuilding Fort Crawford—originally of log construction—with native rock. An exacting pencil sketch that Eastman made of the soon-to-be-demolished post and fledgling Prairie du Chien is the earliest extant example of his meticulously drawn military landscapes.

Early in 1830, Eastman was transferred 150 miles up the Mississippi River to Fort Snelling, then the country's northernmost frontier post. Built in the wake of the War of 1812 to block British

infiltration of the American Northwest and to protect the newly organized fur trade by maintaining peace among the Native Americans in the region, Fort Snelling was a stone behemoth situated on high limestone bluffs above the confluence of the Mississippi and St. Peters rivers in Minnesota.

While at Fort Snelling, Eastman used some of his free time to sketch the untamed beauty of the surrounding, pristine northland. His drawings from this period have been lost, but he is known to have always carried a sketchbook and pencils in his saddlebags. Landscape sketches of Fort Snelling and the Upper Mississippi Valley made in 1830 and '31 served as studies for oil paintings that Eastman completed when he later returned to the East.

Records indicate that Lieutenant Eastman satisfactorily carried out his duties at Fort Snelling. The Minnesota frontier was relatively quiet; only rarely were soldiers dispatched to put down Indian trouble. In fact, many of the officers, including Eastman, were cohabiting with Indian women. In 1831, when Eastman was transferred to topographical duty in Louisiana, he left behind a Native-

American wife, *Stands Like a Spirit*, third daughter of Chief Cloudman of the Lake Calhoun village, and an infant daughter, Nancy Eastman.

After assisting with a railroad survey in Louisiana, Eastman served briefly with the Topographical Engineers at New London, Connecticut. Then in January 1833, he was recalled to West Point. His former drawing teacher, Thomas Gimbrede, had died, and, while the Academy sought a permanent replacement, Eastman assumed the hasty-

ly-created, temporary position of assistant teacher of drawing. The "temporary" assignment lasted for seven years. Gimbrede's job finally went to Robert Weir, a landscapist of rising reputation with whom Eastman studied privately.

Preferring the outdoors to classroom duty, Eastman twice—in 1835 and '38—applied for a transfer to the Topographical Engineers, but to no avail. In the meantime, always giving his best to whatever occupied him, he proved to be a conscientious and productive instruc-

The Dakota, like other North American groups, believed that illness and death resulted from the occupation of the patient's body by a spirit brought there through some transgression of taboos, neglect of ceremonial obligations, or the influence of black magic performed by another. In "Medicine Man Curing a Patient," Eastman shows a wicásta wakan or "holy man"—someone with access to supernatural powers that allowed him to diagnose the cause of the patient's symptoms—applying the necessary cure.







tor. In 1837, he prepared *A Treatise on Topographical Drawing*, a small book with folding plates that became the official text for classes at West Point.

These years at the Academy were happy ones for Eastman. In June 1835, when he was 27, he married 17-year-old Mary Henderson, the daughter of West Point's assistant surgeon. An able young woman, who expressed herself well in prose and poetry, Mary would capture the fancy of the literary world with several books about Indians, which were illustrated by her husband.

In 1838, the National Academy of Design in New York City exhibited eight Eastman canvases; five were Eastern scenes, the remaining three relied on sketches he had made years earlier on the Upper Mississippi. A promotion to captain that year relieved Eastman of his classroom duties and led to his participation in the Second Seminole War in Florida. After a brief assignment at Sarasota, he took command of Fort Fanning, a temporary garrison on the Suwannee River. At both places, Eastman found time to paint not only his usual landscapes, but also, for the first time, the local Indians.

By late spring 1841, half of Eastman's regiment was suffering from dysentery and fever brought on by maneuvers in the steamy Florida Everglades. Unwell himself, Eastman was sent to Norfolk, Virginia, to recover his health. In the fall, he was reassigned to Fort Snelling, where he remained for the next seven years. No longer the inexperienced officer he had been ten years earlier, he served on four occasions as commandant of the post.

Eastman and his wife Mary raised five

The Ojibwa and Dakota in Minnesota valued the muskrat both as food and for its fur. Schoolcraft described the scene illustrated by Eastman in "Indians Spearing Muskrats in Winter" by saying that "When the ponds and rivers, where the musk-rat harbours are found, their houses are perforated with a strong and peculiarly shaped spear, by which the victim is transpierced, and the animal brought out upon its point." Hunting usually began in early March, since the meat of the muskrat was not good to eat in warm weather and its fur was best in early spring.



Clockwise from top, left: Eastman depicted considerable detail of everyday existence in "Dacotah Encampment," which prominently features the conical, skin-covered tent common among the Plains Indians that has come to be known by the Dakota word for house, tipi or tepee. Corn, among the few crops grown by the Dakota to supplement the food supply obtained through hunting, fishing, and gathering wild plants, was cultivated by the women, who also—as shown in "Guarding the Corn Fields"—took up positions on scaffolds in the fields in order to protect their crop from hungry blackbirds. "Itasca Lake[.] Source of the Mississippi. 1575 feet above the Gulf of Mexico" records Schoolcraft's 1832 expedition to discover the source of the great Mississippi. After proceeding "up falls, across precipices, through defiles, over drifts, and through winding channels, for three days," the party arrived at Itasca Lake, where the explorer selected a spot on the only island and "caused some trees to be felled, pitched my tent, and raised the American flag. . ."

children—four sons and a daughter—at Fort Snelling, and from all accounts, he was a first-rate frontier officer. He had no fear of the Indians, seeing them as wards of the government to be treated fairly but firmly. Besides keeping peace on the frontier, Captain Eastman en-

gaged in a personal crusade to preserve for posterity the customs of a race he thought to be dying, by assembling a pictorial history of the Dakota who inhabited the region.

Landscape artist Charles Lanman, who came upriver from St. Louis to Fort



Snelling in the summer of 1846, was spellbound by Eastman's collection, which by then already amounted to some four hundred drawings and paintings. It was, he said, "the most valuable in the country, not even excepting that of George Catlin."

By the next year, Eastman was sending oil paintings to St. Louis, where they were exhibited in artist Henry Lewis's studio. Ranking him "out of sight the best painter of Indian life the country has produced," the *Missouri Republican* judged Eastman's work "quite unlike the vast mass of Indian pictures it has been our bad luck to see." Unlike most of his contemporaries, said the reviewer, Eastman stuck to the plain truth, producing masterful paintings that "one less con-



versant with Indian character . . . could never have painted.”

At the same time that Eastman's Indian paintings were gaining national attention, he was angling for a new assignment. Congress had authorized the publication of a major study of the American Indian to be written by explorer and former Indian agent Henry Schoolcraft, and the post of illustrator for the book was still open. Eastman wrote to the Office of Indian Affairs requesting that he be appointed to the position. He also petitioned the secretary of war for a transfer to the Office of Indian Affairs.

While waiting for a reply, Eastman was transferred to Texas. On October 1, 1848, he and his family reluctantly boarded the steamboat *Dr. Franklin* at

Fort Snelling for the trip downriver to St. Louis, en route to a new posting in Texas. From St. Louis, Mary Eastman and the children went east to her father's home in Connecticut, while the captain followed his company into Comanche territory. When the War Department's long-awaited decision finally reached Eastman in November, the answer was disappointing; he would not be assigned to the Schoolcraft project.

Baffled and angered, Eastman pleaded his case with friends in government, and his wife did the same. He declared his willingness to accept a leave of absence to work on the pictures, if a transfer could not be arranged. Writing to Minnesota territorial delegate Henry Sibley, Mary Eastman pointed out that “during the

twenty three or four years Capt. E. has been in Service he [has] never had a leave (except for a few days) but the one which occurred during the Florida War, when he was very sick . . . If Captain E. is not here in the Spring, it may be a great loss to him . . . one which he could not repair.”

Possibly as a result of Sibley's support, Eastman eventually won a five-month furlough. By Christmas 1849, he had settled in Washington with his family and was working on the Indian pictures. As yet, there were no funds for an illustrator, and Eastman's work was entirely speculative. Nonetheless, he plunged into the project, determined to win the long-term appointment that would be needed to complete the task. Finally, in February

continued on page 65



THE G.I. BILL

BY MICHAEL D. HAYDOCK MORE THAN 2,250,000 AMERICAN VETERANS OF WWII RECEIVED AT LEAST PART OF THEIR COLLEGE EDUCATION AS A RESULT OF LEGISLATION KNOWN AS "THE G.I. BILL."

BY THE TIME the last American World War II veteran was graduated in 1956, the United States was richer by 450,000 engineers; 238,000 teachers; 91,000 scientists; 67,000 doctors; 22,000 dentists; and more than a million other college-trained men and women, thanks largely to the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, universally known as "the G.I. Bill." This landmark legislation helped steer a country geared to winning a globe-spanning war—with roughly 8 million citizens in uniform in 1945 and 22 million involved in war production—smoothly back into a peacetime economy; led to lasting changes in America's system of higher education; and turned uncertainty into opportunity for thousands of war veterans.

The idea of aiding veterans grew partially out of economic concerns. With

World War II winding down, many foresaw the day when millions of servicemen and -women would begin reentering the job market. Government officials wished to find a way to ensure against anything akin to the 1932 march

on Washington, D.C.,

by 15,000 disgruntled

World War I

veterans, who were

suffering from the ravages

of the Great Depression. This

"Bonus Army" sought immediate credit for the certificates they had received upon being discharged years earlier. These notes were not scheduled to mature until 1945, but the impoverished men who had risked their lives for their country felt they deserved immediate assistance.

The main inspiration for the G.I. Bill, however, was a sincere desire to assist returnees. The American Legion, which would become a primary force in guiding the legislation through Congress, declared that "Veterans earned certain rights to which they are entitled. Gratuities do not enter the picture."

In his "fireside chat" to the nation on July 28, 1943, President Franklin D. Roosevelt made his first mention of the veterans' benefits that should follow the war and touched on the more practical aspects of the problem. With the suffering of the Depression vivid in his memory, Roosevelt declared that American veterans "must not be demobilized into an environment of inflation and unemployment, to a place on a bread line or



Having long ago put aside their uniforms—adorned with the "ruptured duck" emblem (above) that symbolized an honorary discharge—the veterans who donned academic gowns as part of the 1950 graduating class of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy, New York (left), were among the millions who, by 1952, had benefitted from the provisions of the "G.I. Bill." The legislation, passed in 1944, allowed men and women who had served in the armed forces during World War II to receive some or all of their college education for free.

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As members of Congress and representatives of various veterans groups watched, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Servicemen's Readjustment Act—otherwise known as “the G.I. Bill”—into law on June 22, 1944. Among the motives inspiring the legislation was the desire to spare the veterans and the nation the economic hardships that accompanied the return, years before, of those who fought in World War I.

on a corner selling apples.” He suggested government-financed education and training as one facet of veterans’ benefits that should be implemented.

The president’s concern was echoed in the halls of Congress, where Republican Representative Hamilton Fish of New York, a staunch conservative and frequent foe of Roosevelt’s, nevertheless agreed that veterans could not “come home and sell apples as they did after the last war, because if that is all they are offered, I believe we would have chaotic and revolutionary conditions in America.”

By November 1943, more than a score of Congressmen were sponsoring bills relating to “veterans’ rights.” The Senate passed its version of the G.I. Bill in March 1944; the House of Representa-

tives followed suit in May. The compromise bill, ready for the president’s signature soon after the June 6 Allied invasion of Normandy, was finally signed into law at the White House on June 22, 1944, with members of Congress and various veterans groups in attendance.

But with the war not yet over, most future candidates for veterans’ relief went about their business that day, unaware that their futures may have been altered by what was going on in the nation’s capital.

The Keenan twins, for example, were at work in a base hospital in England. The second youngest in a first generation, Irish-American family of a dozen siblings, Ellen and Teresa had trained as nurses before the war and enlisted in the Army Nurse Corps in 1942. Their patients, unaware there were two Miss Keenans working on different shifts, referred to them as “that nurse who never sleeps.”

An infantryman with the 20th Armored Division, John Rigas was in France when President Roosevelt signed what was officially designated Public Law 346. Rigas had landed in Europe days earlier with his fellow soldiers to begin the drive that

would place the American force deep in Bavaria at the end of the war.

Don Balfour, honorably discharged because of his poor eyesight, was working hard to pay for his classes at Georgetown University in Washington, D. C., where he served as the editor of the school paper, *The Hatchet*.

The G.I. Bill entitled anyone with ninety days of service to one year of higher education. Each additional month of active duty earned a month of schooling, up to a maximum of 48 months. The law set a \$500 per year limit for tuition, fees, and supplies, at a time when the cost of top schools ranged from \$350 to \$450. Single veterans could claim a subsistence allowance of \$50 per month, while those who were married drew \$75. By 1948, inflation had pushed these limits to \$75 for those who were single and \$105 for anyone with two dependents.

Initially, few thought that the program would have much impact. When the War Department conducted several surveys concerning the number of service personnel who intended to enter college after the war, the results were not en-

couraging. Before the adoption of the bill, the Research Branch of the Morale Service Division concluded, after canvassing a representative cross-section, that only seven percent of those eligible intended to return to school or college after the war and that a government subsidy would increase that number only to eight per cent. A 1945 poll confidently predicted that "a minimum of eight percent and a maximum of twelve percent of all veterans of Army service in World War II will attend full-time school or college." The surveys also concluded that married men, those over 24, and those who had been in college prior to their entry into the military and had now been away from school for more than a year would be "quite unlikely to return to a school." An article entitled "G.I.s Reject Education," which appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post*, concluded that as beneficial as the G.I. Bill seemed to be, it had one conspicuous drawback: "The guys aren't buying it."

Don Balfour did not see the *Post* article, but he learned of the passage of the law and thought it would make a good story for *The Hatchet*. He called on a vocational officer at the Veterans Administration one day after President Roosevelt had signed the bill. Part way through the interview, Balfour asked if he could sign up for benefits. By August, his Georgetown tuition was being covered by the G.I. Bill.

Some members of the educational establishment expressed doubts and concerns about veterans arriving on their campuses in any great number. Robert M. Hutchens, President of the University of Chicago, described what he characterized as the threat to American education in *Collier's* magazine in December 1944. "Colleges and universities," he wrote, "will find themselves converted into educational hobo jungles . . . [E]ducation is not a device for coping with mass unemployment." Harvard University's president, James B. Conant, lamented that the G.I. Bill failed "to distinguish between those who can profit most from advanced

education and those who cannot" and expressed fear that "we may find the least capable among the war generation . . . flooding the facilities for advanced education."

A few educators believed that their added maturity and greater sense of purpose and social consciousness would make the returnees exceptional students, but most viewed their presence on campus with anxiety. Some predicted that the veterans would, as a result of their military experience, reject discipline, rebel against authority, lack initiative, and suffer from restlessness and hostility. "No man can fight in a war," wrote Professor Willard Waller of Columbia University, "without being changed by that experience. Veterans come home, but they come home angry." The fact was, however, that no one knew what to expect. No war in history had involved such numbers, and no nation had ever

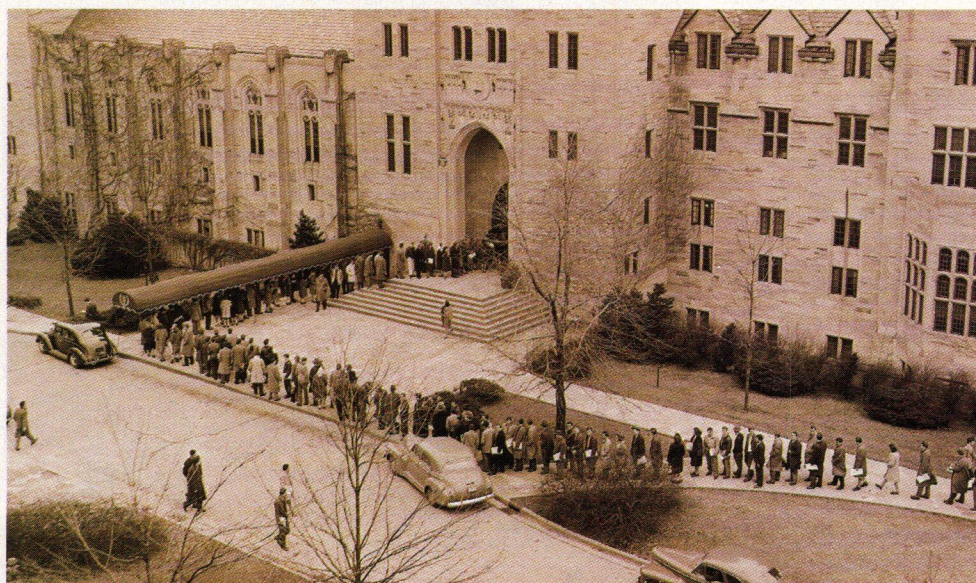
virtually guaranteed each returning veteran a free college education.

During the first year of the program, 8,200 ex-servicemen and -women enrolled in college; by November 1945, the number had swelled to 88,000. But the real deluge came with the discharge of millions of military personnel in the fall and winter of 1945-46. By late 1946, total college enrollment in the United States, for the first time, exceeded two million, 48.7 percent of whom were veterans attending under the G.I. Bill.

At Rutgers University in New Jersey, the student population grew from a pre-war high of 7,000 to nearly 16,000. At California's Stanford University, where the admissions office rejected two students for each one accepted, enrollment climbed almost fifty percent. Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (RPI) in Troy, New

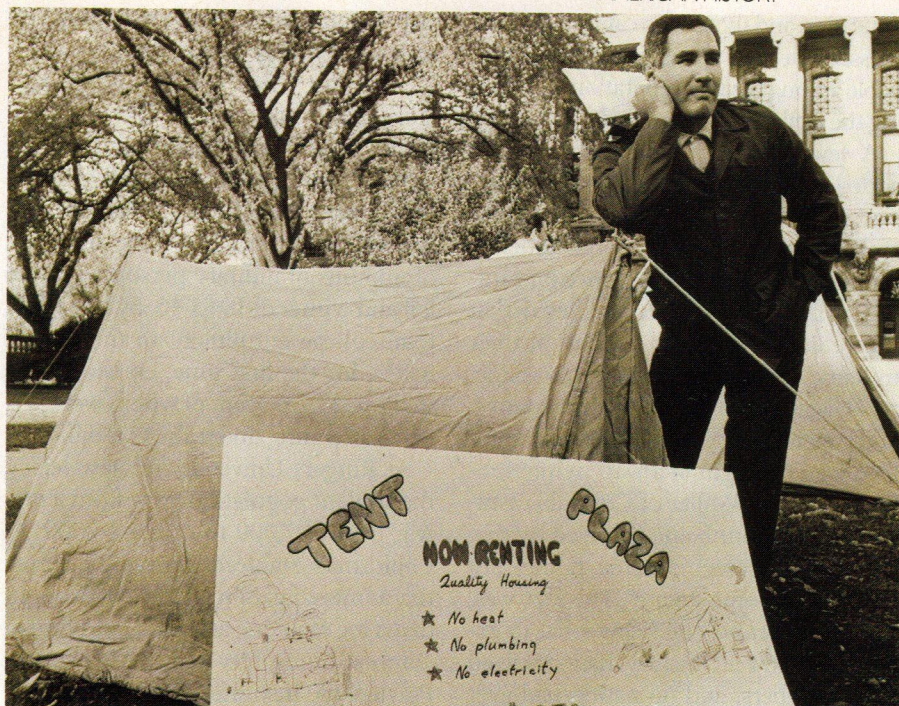


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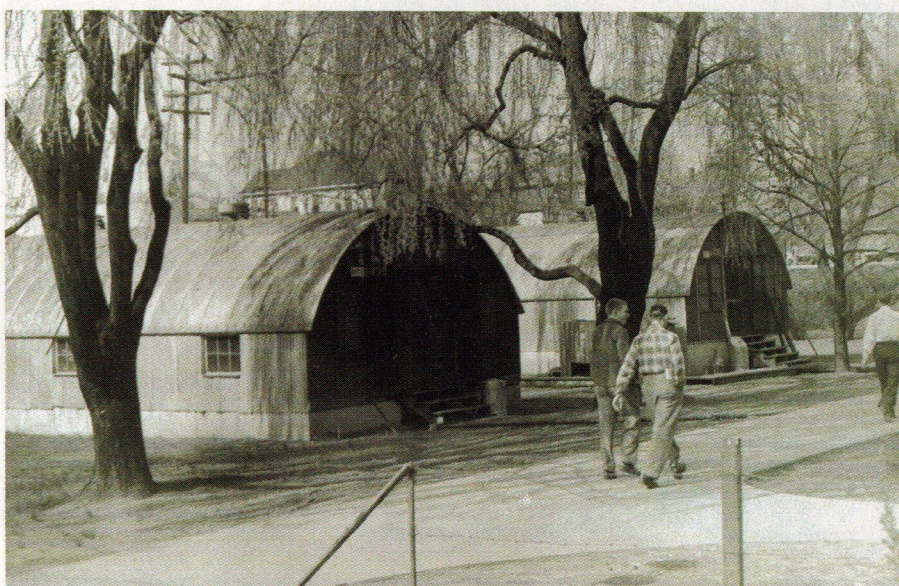


INDIANA UNIVERSITY PHOTOGRAPHIC SERVICES

The response of the returnees to the G.I. Bill overwhelmed many colleges, which saw their student population swell dramatically almost overnight. Scenes such as these were typical as veterans fought long lines to purchase supplies (above) or register for classes (below).



UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON



UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY LIBRARY

Finding ways to house the increased student population—especially those who were married and had families—presented the biggest challenge for many schools. Although few veterans resorted to tents (top), many did find themselves living in military-surplus Quonset (center) and Nissen huts or trailers (bottom).

York, saw a rise of 132 percent to 3,308; John Rigas, having fought his way across Europe, was among their number. At Lehigh University, in the forested hills just outside the steel town of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, the 940 veterans on the campus far outnumbered the 396 “civilians.”

In addition to the established institutions, veterans could choose to attend one of the new schools that seemingly sprang to life overnight, often on the sites of former military bases. Congress amended a 1940 act that created housing for defense workers to allow the facilities to be turned over to returning veterans. In August 1945, Congress went further, approving the use of surplus war-related buildings for educational purposes.

New York's famed Plattsburg Barracks, established as a fortification during the War of 1812, now took on new life as Champlain College, with an immediate enrollment of 1,101—ninety percent of whom were veterans. Mohawk College in Rome, New York was established on the grounds of the former Rhodes General Military Hospital and enrolled 1,314 students during its first year. And the Sampson Naval Training Center in the state's Finger Lakes region became Sampson College, with 2,825 students.

Out West, the University of California at Berkeley gained 17 buildings, totalling more than 185,000 square feet of floor space, under the federal program. Nationwide, the U.S. Office of Education estimated that the Veterans Educational Facilities Program, as Congress had named it, supplied 78 percent of the space that colleges urgently needed.

As the veterans began to crowd onto campuses across the nation there were, naturally enough, instances of “culture clash.” Lehigh's freshmen had been required, since before anyone could remember, to wear brown socks, a brown tie, and a beanie. Those who did not don such attire could expect punishment

continued on page 68

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Fresh out of the ground . . .

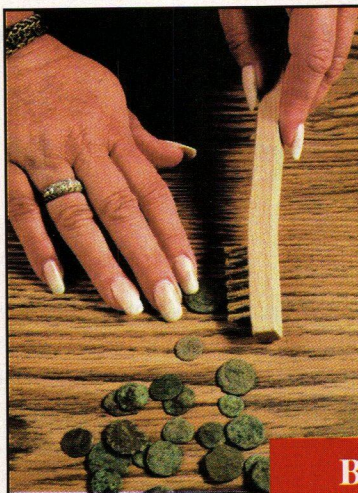
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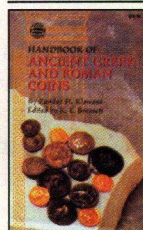


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A STITCH IN TIME

THE SEWING MACHINE WAS not so much the result of invention as the culmination of an evolutionary process that covered several centuries and involved a succession of innovators on both sides of the Atlantic. As early as the sixteenth century, tailors and seamstresses, wearied by endless stitching, dreamed of a means to ease their drudgery and allow them a little free time.

An English clergyman by the name of William Lee, distressed to see his wife endlessly knitting stockings by hand to supplement his meager income, invented a machine that he believed would shorten her long working hours. In 1598, Lee introduced his "Stocking Frame" to England's Queen Elizabeth I, but she preferred silk stockings to the coarse work Lee's contraption produced. Although the hosiery industry did adopt the machine, Lee, like many other inventors, died in poverty.

In 1790, an English cabinetmaker named Thomas Saint became the first to patent a device designed for "stitching, quilting, or sewing." His invention used a horizontal cloth plate, a spool supplying continuous thread, and an overhanging arm that held a vertical needle—all essential ingredients of successful, modern sewing machines. Yet, this chain-stitch sewing machine languished, practically forgotten, for more than eighty years, until Newton Wilson of London happened upon Saint's brainchild at the Patent Office library in that city. When Wilson attempted to construct a model from the patent specifications, he had to make several modifications, leading him to believe that Saint had not actually built his machine.

Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1793 flung open the doors to the Industrial Revolution in America. As in Europe, craftsmen here, backed by the principles of scientific investigation, gradually found success making or im-

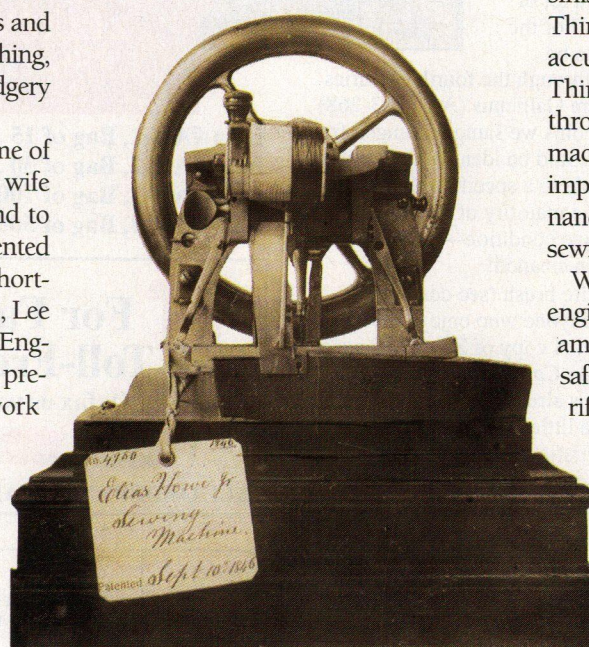
proving upon all manner of mechanical wonders. Despite the rapid advances that were being made, some—particularly those who lived in the economic

stresses to make uniforms for the French army. Unfortunately, a wild mob of about two hundred tailors and seamstresses who viewed his invention as something sinister rather than as a benefit, stormed Thimonnier's shop one night, tossing the accursed machines from the windows. Thimonnier himself barely escaped through a back door, salvaging only one machine as he went. Later, Thimonnier improved his patent and, with another financial backer, formed France's first sewing machine company in 1845.

Walter Hunt, a self-taught New York engineer with a flare for invention—among his most famous efforts were the safety pin and the "Volitional Repeater" rifle—produced a lock-stitch sewing machine in the 1830s. He solved the problem that had plagued the chain-stitch machines of Saint and Thimonnier by designing his machine so that the top thread was thrust through fabric with a needle that had a hole in the end.

This action formed a loop through which a bottom thread from the reciprocating shuttle would pass, thus preventing the thread from unraveling as it did on earlier models. Hunt's was the first sewing machine whose movement did not imitate human motion.

Whatever his talents as an inventor,



BROWN BROTHERS

basement of society—regarded the new industrial era as a threat to their welfare. Tailors and seamstresses, who often stitched for 16 to 18 hours a day just to eke out a living, were among those who feared that machines might cause the loss of their livelihood.

One French tailor, Barthélemy Thimonnier—convinced that he could build a practical sewing machine—was able to see the benefit of such a device. A man possessed of only an elementary education, Thimonnier studied the repetitive motions involved in hand sewing and worked on his design for several years before producing his first machine in 1830. An oversized and awkward affair that used a needle resembling a crochet hook for chain stitching, Thimonnier's machine gained financial support in Paris, and by 1841, he employed eighty seam-

When Elias Howe, Jr., met with little success in marketing the mechanical sewing device (above) that he patented in 1846, he sailed for England to try his luck there. Arriving back in America in 1849, he discovered that others, notably Isaac Merritt Singer, had found a market for the sewing machine in the U.S. Howe sued Singer—depicted right demonstrating his "Perpendicular Action" machine—for patent infringement and won. Eventually, the two reached an agreement that made them both rich men.

BY BRUCE K. STEWART AS EARLY AS THE LATE 1500S, EUROPEAN INVENTORS WERE ATTEMPTING TO BUILD A MECHANICAL SEWING DEVICE SUCH AS THE ONE FINALLY PATENTED IN THE U.S. BY ELIAS HOWE IN 1846.



Hunt was not a good businessman. Not only did he not bother to patent his sewing machine, he also sold his safety pin rights to clear a four-hundred-dollar debt. In view of the reception being given new inventions by workers in the Northeast, where many, resorting to tactics similar to those used in Europe, destroyed examples of the new technology and threatened industrialists, Hunt decided to avoid the controversy by selling his sewing ma-



NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

Born in Spencer, Massachusetts, in 1819, Elias Howe, Jr.—thanks to his success at defending his 1846 patent against infringement—is credited with having invented the first practical sewing machine. It remained for others, however, to improve his design and make it truly marketable.

chine rights. The buyer, George Arrow-smith—out of concern for women hand sewers—never applied for a patent either.

Finally, in 1842, John J. Greenough became the first to patent a sewing machine in America. His device “used the two-pointed needle, with an eye at mid-length, which was passed back and forth through the material by means of a pair of pincers on each side of the seam.” The pincers grasped the needle automatically as the operator moved the cloth, which was held by clamps “attached to a rack that automatically fed the material at a predetermined rate according to the length of stitch required.” But, since Greenough’s machine worked more slowly than a tailor could sew by hand, it received little attention. In fact, the patent model may have been the only one ever constructed.

Several other patents for sewing ma-

chines were filed in the United States during the 1840s before Elias Howe, Jr., received his on September 10, 1846. During the late 1830s, while working as a machinist in the Boston shop of Ari Davis, a manufacturer and repairer of precision instruments, Howe overheard a visitor contend that it would be impossible to construct a machine that could sew. Davis disagreed and crowed: “. . . I can make a sewing machine myself!” The visitor shrugged and commented that anyone who did succeed at perfecting such a machine would make himself a fortune. The shop owner did not pursue the idea, but several years later, his assistant did.

When ill health forced Howe to leave his job in 1843, his wife supported them by taking in sewing. As he watched her, Howe thought of the conversation he had overheard years before and decided to try his luck at inventing a practical sewing machine. To pursue his dream, he moved with his family to live outside Boston, in the Cambridge home of George Fisher, a friend and investor. There he completed his design and built a model of his first sewing machine. Fisher later testified in court that “I was the only one of his neighbors and friends who had any confidence in the success of his invention . . . and I was thought foolish to assist him.”

Within two years after deciding to concentrate his efforts on doing what he had heard described as impossible, Howe used his invention to sew the main seams for a suit of clothes for himself and one for Fisher. A year later, he completed a second machine, which he submitted with his application for a patent.* It was one of 17 stitch-making machines that had by then been invented in the United States, England, France, Austria, and Germany. What gave Howe’s machine the edge was its speed; it sewed at the phenomenal rate of 250 stitches a minute, about seven times faster than hand stitching.

Howe was especially proud that the seams produced by his machine looked the same whether viewed from the top or bottom. He displayed his sewing machine at Boston’s Quincy Hall

*Unaware of Walter Hunt’s work, Howe also used a two-thread lock stitch, using a similar needle with the eye in the point.



THE GRANGER COLLECTION

Thanks to his mechanical genius and the marketing talents of Edward Clark, Isaac Merritt Singer’s company became the premier manufacturer of sewing machines around the world. An agreement negotiated by Clark gave Singer, Howe, and two other manufacturers—Grover & Baker and Wheeler & Wilson (whose machine appears in the advertisement below)—royalties on every sewing machine produced by other firms. In 1875, Singer died of heart failure in England at the age of 63.

Clothing Manufactory that summer and sewed whatever people brought in. The machine, however, was awkward to operate. The sewer could only complete a few inches of stitching before having to take the cloth out and reposition it.

Despite Howe’s demonstration of the sewing machine’s capabilities, many women distrusted the mechanical device and refused to believe it could match the

quality of their hand work. Fisher, seeing little financial gain to be made from Howe’s invention, withdrew his backing. Hoping to have better luck abroad, Howe sailed for England in 1847. But, when success continued to elude him there during the next two years, Howe pawned all his valuables, including the sewing machine’s patent papers, to

get enough money to return home, arriving just in time to see his wife before she died.

Howe again found employment as a machinist and was amazed to learn that during his absence from the United States, the sewing machine had gained populari-



CULVER PICTURES, INC.

ty with Americans, in large measure due to significant improvements to his original patent by inventors such as Isaac Merritt Singer. Greatly upset by what he considered patent infringement, Howe raised the money needed to retrieve his letters patent from the London pawnbroker and then initiated a court battle in the U. S. that dragged on for five years.

Singer and Edward Clark, his attorney and soon-to-be partner, argued that because Hunt's 1834 invention anticipated Howe's by twelve years, Howe's later claim was negated. Charles Mason, the Patent Commissioner, ruled against Singer, however, declaring that when an invention has been allowed to languish, as Hunt's was, for about 18 years and "is only resurrected to supplant and strangle an invention which has been given to the public, and which has been made practically useful, all reasonable presumption should be in favor of the inventor who has been the means of conferring the real benefit upon the world." With Howe's patent ruled valid, Singer was forced to pay him \$25,000.* In addition, Howe received a license fee for every machine sold from that date forward.

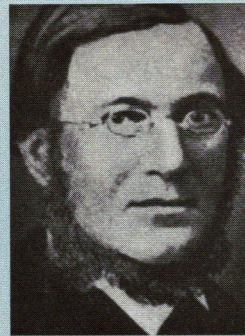
Wrangling continued, however, among Singer, Howe, and two other sewing machine manufacturers. Edward Clark managed to bring all parties together to form a "patent pool"—the "Sewing Machine Combination"—comprised of I.M. Singer & Company, Grover & Baker, Wheeler & Wilson, and Howe. By the agreement, all other manufacturers would pay a \$15 license fee, of which Howe and Singer would each receive \$5 and the others \$2.50. Thus Howe, whose machine was impractical without the refinements others had made, nonetheless managed to earn more than a million dollars in royalties from his invention.

While the litigation proceeded, Singer, who readily acknowledged that he invented not for the betterment of humanity but for profit, had continued to patent improvements to the original design and, thanks largely to Clark, to build his business, I.M. Singer & Company, into the world's largest and best known manufacturer of sewing machines. To win over more women to their product, an

continued on page 63

EDWARD CLARK, MARKETING GENIUS

When Elias Howe brought a patent infringement suit against Isaac Merritt Singer in 1851, the developer of the first practical model of the sewing machine turned for assistance in his defense to the New York City law firm of Jordan, Clark and Company. Although he was forced eventually to pay royalties to Howe, Singer gained from the association when one of the attorneys, Edward Clark, became his business partner. Although he had no previous experience in marketing, Clark nonetheless soon began fine-tuning for I. M. Singer & Company one of the most significant marketing plans in American history. Possessed of an incredible perception of human nature, Clark's sure instincts led to an array of then-novel sales and marketing techniques that were copied by many successful companies in the late 1800s and early 1900s.



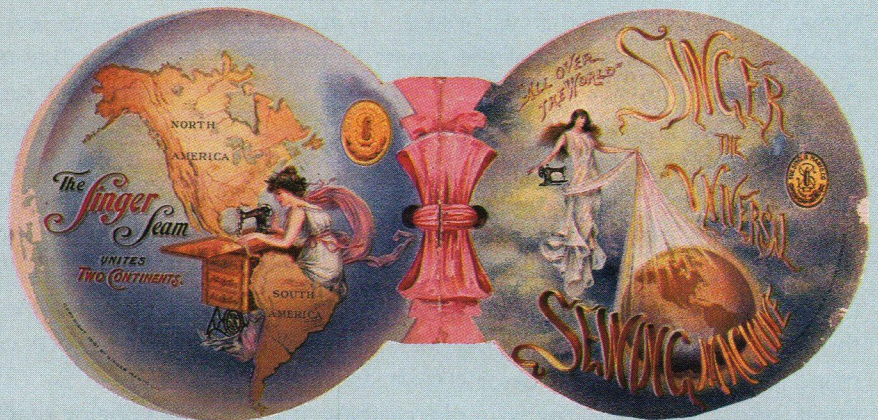
COURTESY OF JIM HANCOCK

In 1856, the average family income was about \$500, and a sewing machine cost \$125, putting the labor-saving device far beyond the reach of the majority of families. But Clark's development of the very first structured, consumer "hire purchase" credit plan, suddenly made the sewing machine affordable. In an era when credit bureaus did not yet exist, Singer agents were authorized to arrange credit purchases on a weekly or monthly payment plan, usually at five dollars down and the remainder to be paid, with interest, in weekly or monthly installments of three to five dollars.

Clark also saw to it that Singer agents worked within a small territory close to home, where they could gain their customers' trust. When they visited homes to collect payments, agents were able to provide sewing lessons and make minor repairs and adjustments to the machines, thereby establishing a bond with customers. Producing a trouble-free, superior-quality product thus became a natural extension of the consumer credit and after-sales service programs.

Thanks to these and many other sales and marketing innovations, Clark helped Isaac Singer's company become the leader in the industry by 1867, and before much longer, one of the first multinational giants, with 15 manufacturing plants scattered around the world. During the next thirty years, the firm captured about eighty percent of the worldwide market, selling more than three million machines annually and employing approximately sixty thousand sales people. ★

—Jim Hancock



NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

*Some sources differ on the exact amount of the settlement that Howe received.

“SEWING” DISCONTENT

On March 25, 1911, a fire swept through the Triangle Shirtwaist Company's factory in New York City, killing 146 garment workers in less than half an hour. Many—unable to escape down the stairs because the owner of the factory kept the doors to the sweatshop locked from the outside—jumped to their deaths from windows. This tragedy, which became the rallying post for millions of Americans and soon led to significant protective legislation for workers, resulted when uncaring manufacturers took a machine that publisher Louis Antoine Godey

more common in cities. Those who sewed garments in homes for the commercial market were paid according to how many items they produced. Consequently, sewers often worked from 14 to 16 hours per day for as little as \$1.50 per week.

At first, I.M. Singer and other sewing machine companies pronounced themselves emancipators of these women sewers, whose productivity increased with the use of machines. During the Civil War, the women's wages increased markedly as they filled orders for uniforms, bedding, and tents needed for the troops. But another change was also taking place. Unable to afford sewing machines of their own, seamstresses—once fearful of industrialization—found themselves working in factories at machines that only two decades before they considered toxic to their livelihood.

With the number of working women continuing to increase dramatically after the war, the Knights of Labor—formed in 1869 as the first large-scale national labor federation in the United States—voted in 1881 to admit women. This move extended the Knights' reach into the ranks of such traditionally

female occupations as dressmaker and milliner. It also caused women, whose wages lagged far behind those of men, to sign up in great numbers with the Knights; by 1886, there were 192 women's units in the union.

But the involvement of women in the labor movement did little to improve the plight of those—particularly recent emigrants from Eastern Europe or from China—who toiled for “contractors” in the garment industry. Essentially middlemen, these contractors hired women to sew or “make up” pre-cut garments supplied by the actual manufacturers of the clothing. Since the contractors were paid by the piece, their profits depended on keeping costs down, which they did by paying extremely low wages and forcing employees to work very long hours in unsanitary and unsafe conditions.

Labor organizer Leonora Barry noted that “A seal-plush cloak, selling for from forty to seventy-five dollars, is made by the cloak-makers for eighty cents and one dollar apiece, one being a day's work for an expert operative.” By 1891, 75 percent of ready-made clothing was being manufactured in stuffy and crowded sweat-



FAMILY PIECEWORK IN A NEW YORK CITY TENEMENT HOME.

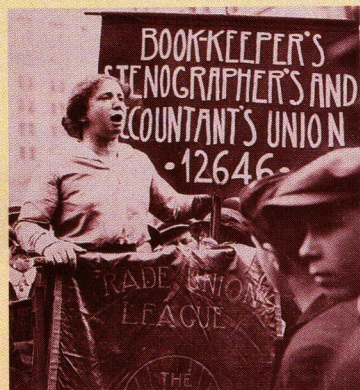
called “next to the plough . . . humanity's most blessed invention” and used it to virtually enslave poor—often immigrant—women who had no other way to earn a living.

Much of the initial success of the sewing machine lay in its ability to increase worker productivity by reducing the time it took to produce a single garment. Although Singer and other manufacturers courted the home market for their sewing machines, industry—particularly the garment industry—remained their biggest customer. Unfortunately, this association involved the sewing machine with one of the worst blemishes in America's labor history.

Long before the sewing machine, many American women earned a meager living sewing clothing by hand. As late as the 1830s, the clothing worn by most Americans was made in the home. The market for ready-made wear was limited largely to work clothes bought for Southern slaves or by sailors heading out to sea. As the nation became more prosperous, however, a demand for the services of tailors and seamstresses developed, and outlets for ready-made clothing became

THE GRANGER COLLECTION

shops. Toiling in squalor, the women enjoyed no job security, tenure, or sense of pride. And too often, they received unwanted solicitations from their foremen. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) was formed in 1900 to fight



ROSE SCHNEIDERMAN ADDRESSING UNION RALLY.

against the low wages paid to those who performed work for the garment industry in their homes. By then, however, that designation had come to mean male tailors of women's clothing rather than female hand sewers. Although women outnumbered men in the garment industry as a whole, membership in the ILGWU was predominantly male.

In order to convince men to take women's concerns more seriously, female workers and concerned upper-class women in New York City formed the Women's Trade Union League in 1903. When women sweatshop workers struck for better working conditions in 1909-10, their upper-class supporters joined them on the picket lines. The two-month-long strike, however, ended with no real improvement in working conditions in the sweatshops. Following the unsuccessful strike, a great number of women, anxious to gain more power by forming an alliance with men in the industry, sought membership in the ILGWU.

The Triangle fire focused public attention on sweatshop conditions, but only briefly. The owners responsible for the tragedy were quickly acquitted by an all-male jury and within days of their trial's completion had reestablished themselves in business. Not everyone forgot, however, and eventually workers and the unions, spurred on by leaders such as Rose Schneiderman, achieved the adoption of a new Industrial Code for New York State that became "the most outstanding instrument for safeguarding the lives, health, and welfare" of workers there and across the country.★

—Bruce K. Stewart



GARMENT INDUSTRY SWEATSHOP.

A STITCH IN TIME

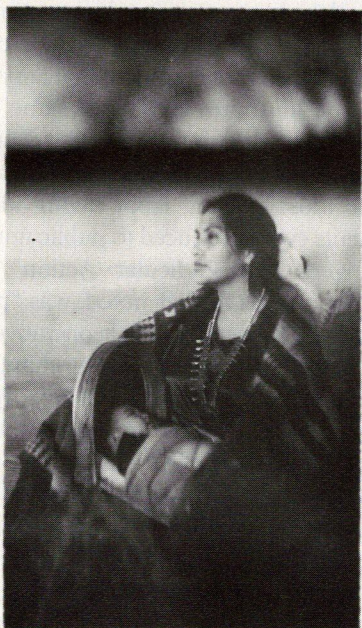
continued from page 61

1853 Singer advertisement exclaimed: "The Great Question Settled!! Sewing by machinery, once deemed impossible, is now an established fact." Their cause was helped by a comment that appeared in the *Illustrated News* that same year. The sewing machine, the writer claimed, had "established its character as one of the most efficient labor saving instruments ever introduced to public notice." Singer's "Perpendicular Action" machine, it was further noted, was "peculiarly calculated for female operatives."

Singer graced his sewing machine with a design that, by taking advantage of gravity's power, allowed the operator to be comfortably seated. A foot-driven treadle drove the machine and allowed the sewer's hands to remain free to guide the cloth along. Soon, a flywheel was added to smooth the working of the treadle. Although variations abounded during the next several decades, this basic design was common to all sewing machines until the electric motor began to replace the treadle at the end of the nineteenth century.

Before long, the Singer company's incredible knack for marketing made the sewing machine as desirable for use in the home as in industry. Singer's "Family Sewing Machine" debuted in the late 1850s to satisfy, according to a company brochure, the demand for "a sewing machine for family purposes more exclusively . . ." Indeed, much of the company's success stemmed from the decision to market the machine directly to dressmakers, seamstresses, and housewives. The Singer Company decorated some of its shops to look like homes rather than stores or factories, then hired women to demonstrate the variety and ease of sewing. In 1860, *Godey's Lady's Book* suggested that ten families form a sewing machine club; payment of a small sum would entitle each family the right to use the machine 35 days a year.

To the relief of many homemakers, the price of sewing machines fell during the 1860s and '70s as the introduction of a production-line system that used interchangeable parts transformed this helpful device from a handcrafted product to a manufactured one. Sewing machines that cost more than \$100 during the 1850s could be purchased for as little as \$64 twenty years later. Sales soared as, its

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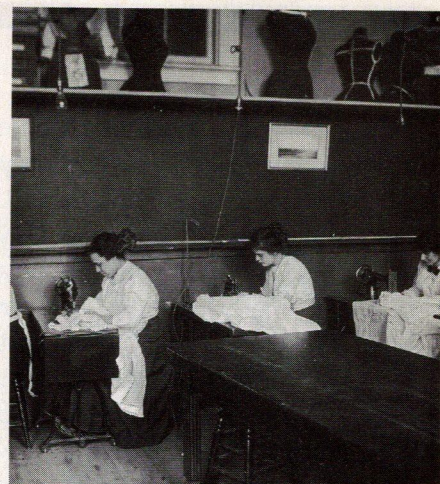
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price within their reach, American families found the sewing machine provided an affordable means of keeping fashionably dressed. In fact, the sewing machine became as essential an ingredient of middle-class values during that era as cars and designer clothes are today.

Within 25 years of his first patent, Singer's company was overseeing factories throughout the United States, Canada, and England, while numerous competitors vied for a share of the growing market. Singer had, in a short period of time, converted the basic sewing machine into a useful, adaptable, and dependable machine. His company had penetrated all the major international markets, becoming the first multinational company. When he died in 1875, Singer left a fortune of between \$13 and \$15 million dollars.

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, Philipp Diehl, a Singer employee, designed an electric motor that introduced dramatic changes to the already successful sewing machine—the world's first personal appliance. Such overwhelming success seduced other industries into producing affordable, strong, and dependable machines with interchangeable parts, and led to the availability of spare parts, convenient local service centers, and repairmen.

Today Americans are better clothed for less money than our ancestors could have imagined. And the latest advancement in the development of the sewing machine has even brought sewing to the blind, by incorporating braille symbols, instruction cassettes, special finger guides



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The invention of the sewing machine significantly shortened the length of time it took to produce a single garment, formerly stitched by hand (below). Women, seeking a way to earn a living or anxious to be able to produce the latest fashions for less than they cost "ready made," enrolled in sewing classes such as this one in a New York City school (above).

and guards; and automatically managed machines can now be programmed to produce a complete piece of work without an operator. Although vastly different from the basic machine patented a century and a half ago, we can still thank Elias Howe, Jr., for his ingenious invention and Isaac Merritt Singer for the improvements that made his name synonymous with the sewing machine. ★

Bruce K. Stewart is a business consultant from Louisiana, whose article "American Football" appeared in the November/December 1995 issue of American History.



PAST.



PRESENT.

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SETH EASTMAN'S WEST

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1850, he received orders from the War Department that would allow him to complete the illustrations at his ordinary military pay. The monumental work, which comprised 275 pages of illustrations, consumed Eastman for five years.

Although he would have preferred to remain in Washington after finishing the Schoolcraft paintings, Eastman returned to his regiment in Texas in June 1855. Past his prime at age 48 and in failing health, he was soon back East on sick leave. In October, he was promoted to major and transferred to the Fifth Infantry. He served a short stint with the Quartermaster General's Office in Washington, but for the most part, Eastman spent the final years of his military career on the move.

With the onset of the Civil War in 1861, Eastman was promoted to lieutenant colonel and named mustering and disbursing officer for Maine and New Hampshire. After suffering a sunstroke that left him permanently impaired and prone to apoplexy, he served for one year, beginning in January 1863, as military governor at Cincinnati. He then served as commandant of the military prisons at Elmira, New York, and Fort Mifflin, Pennsylvania. Appointed brevet brigadier general in 1866, he took charge of the Harrodsburg Military Asylum in Kentucky, remaining there until 1867.

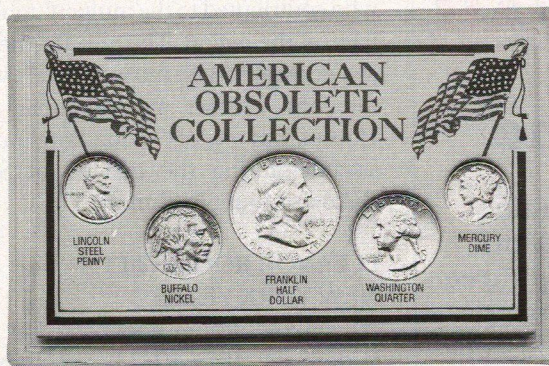
Although frail in body, General Eastman returned to painting with renewed enthusiasm after the war. During his last years, he received a commission from the War Department to paint nine scenes of Indian life, based on his Minnesota sketches, for the House Office Building in the nation's capital. His final commission, also for the government, specified 17 paintings of American forts for the House Committee on Military Affairs. On August 31, 1875, Eastman was completing a painting of West Point when he slumped over at his easel and died. ★

Seth Eastman: A Portfolio of North American Indians with essays and commentary by Sheila Jffoliott, Shepard Krech III, Sarah E. Boehme, Christian F. Feest, and Patricia Condon Johnston is available from the Afton Historical Society Press for \$75.00, plus \$5.00 shipping. Call 800-436-8443. Museums interested in exhibiting the Eastman paintings may also contact the Afton Historical Society Press.

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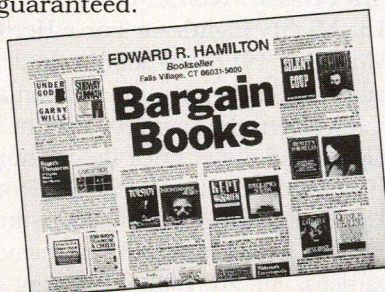
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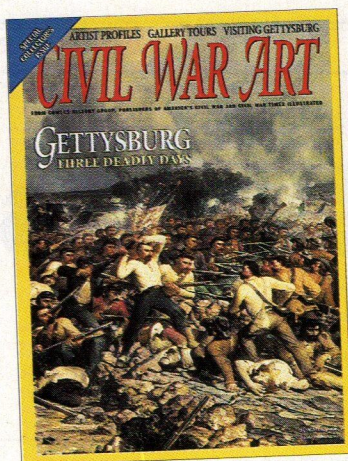
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HISTORY TODAY

continued from page 18

take at least eight years to complete, with future installments depicting individuals who contributed to the multicultural heritage of the region. The idea for the project originated with the memorial's sculptor John Houser, whose father, Ivan Houser, was one of Gutzon Borglum's assistants during the carving of South Dakota's Mount Rushmore.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT'S NEW YORK YEARS

"Becoming Eleanor Roosevelt: The New York Years, 1884-1933," an exhibition that seeks to explain how the former First Lady's pre-White House years determined her social and political development is on display at the New-York Historical Society (212-873-3400) in New York City through November 12. Dividing Eleanor Roosevelt's early years into several interrelated sections, the show explores the roots of her later success as a writer, activist, radio host, United Nations delegate, and "First Lady of the World." Illustrated by numerous photographs, portraits, and prints, the exhibit includes items of furniture, books, jewelry, and other personal Roosevelt memorabilia. An annotated map of Manhattan establishes a chronology of Mrs. Roosevelt's New York years and outlines her close involvement with the city.

Eleanor Roosevelt (1884-1962) was born and raised in New York City, and, even before her 1905 marriage, shared her family name with her distant cousin and future husband, Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882-1945). During her husband's long tenure—1933-45—as the thirty-second president of the United States, Mrs. Roosevelt redefined the role of the first lady, establishing herself as a champion of civil and social reform.

MIGHTY EIGHTH AIR FORCE MUSEUM

The Mighty Eighth Air Force Heritage Museum (912-748-8888), built to salute the more than one million men and women who have served in the U.S. Eighth Air Force since its creation in 1942, has opened in Savannah, Georgia. The facility features a 100,000-volume-capacity library, vast archives, memorial gardens, an art gallery, meeting and study rooms, and a large exhibit area.

The Mission Experience Theater, an interactive display, allows visitors a rare glimpse of World War II air warfare; after receiving a mission briefing in a Nissen hut constructed from an original World War II model brought over from England, museum guests move into the theater, where they fly a simulated bombing run.

In August 1942, the Eighth Air Force, formed earlier in the year to help carry the Allies' strategic air war to the European mainland, joined Britain's Royal Air Force in the almost nonstop bombing of German-held territory and Germany itself that continued until April 1945. The Eighth Air Force has since played a key role in every subsequent United States military engagement.

BYRD'S POLAR DIARY DISCOVERED

The recent discovery of the diary kept by famed polar explorer and pioneer aviator Admiral Richard E. Byrd (1888-1957) has failed to quell the controversy that has always surrounded his 1926 claim to have been the first to fly to the North Pole. Uncovered by Professor Raimund E. Goerler, Chief Archivist for Ohio State University's Byrd Polar Research Center (BPRC), the document devotes 76 of its 121 pages to the North Pole expedition and, according to the BPRC, contains proof that Byrd at least *thought* at the time that he had indeed reached the pole. The diary includes notes that Byrd wrote to pilot Floyd Bennett (1890-1928) during the flight, when engine noise inside the plane made oral communication difficult. In the notes, Byrd gave Bennett instructions for steering and estimated their distance from the top of the world.

Some scholars have claimed that Byrd, concerned about an engine leak, knowingly turned back about 150 miles from his destination. If this is true, then the laurels for being the first to reach the North Pole by air belong to Italian Umberto Nobile (1885-1978) and Norwegian Roald Amundsen (1872-1928), who arrived three days later in a hydrogen-filled, semi-rigid dirigible. The diary, which also contains notes on Byrd's Antarctic expeditions, observations of other noteworthy explorers, and his 1927 transatlantic flight, just forty days after Charles Lindbergh's historic trip, is available for study at the BPRC until a facsimile can be reproduced. ★

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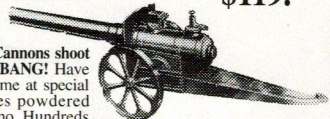
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THE G.I. BILL

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from the Junior Vigilante Committee. But, when veterans at Lehigh chose to ignore the tradition, it was a rash upper-classman indeed who attempted to force a brown dink onto the skull of a man who might have fought on Iwo Jima or on the beaches of Normandy. The school paper, which was still controlled by "civilians," ran an editorial pointing out the advantages offered by hazing, paddling, and wearing beanies. Few of the veterans bothered to respond; none took up wearing beanies.

All across the country, colleges scrambled to meet the needs of the returning veterans. Lack of classroom space, teacher shortages, and inadequate housing for the students, all became immediate problems. At the University of Pittsburgh, there were so many students that classes had to be held on both a day and a night schedule. At Iowa State University too, classes began at 7:30 A.M. and went until 10:30 at night. The University of Florida, where enrollment jumped 155 percent, conducted a 61-hour academic week.

Married students were a new phenomenon after the war that required adjustments not only by the colleges, but by the students themselves. Some institutions inaugurated day care and pediatric facilities to aid students with young children.



The wives of Ohio State faculty members were enlisted to aid their spouses in teaching, and Iowa's College of Liberal Arts hired 91 new instructors, more than a third of them with no previous teaching experience and most under 32 years of age. When a Harvard professor of philosophy, who normally instructed groups of ten, found his classroom overflowing, he promptly left, thinking that he had somehow wandered into a required "Freshman English" course.

Military surplus Quonset and Nissen huts, used both for additional classroom space and for student housing until more permanent quarters could be built, soon dotted the nation's campuses. Before the arrival of these structures, students camped out in gyms, auditoriums, and any other space not already occupied. Having known far worse living conditions, the veterans did not complain.

At RPI, the more permanent residential quarters initially took the form of one hundred units of prefabricated housing obtained from the federal government. The commitment to build these structures was announced in February 1946. Only a month later, the list of RPI families looking for housing had grown to 250; the construction program was expanded.

Because the concept of married students was new to most of the colleges, their presence on campus created unique problems. The schools rose to the challenge by supplying both on- and

off-campus family housing. They also set up day care centers and pediatric health clinics for the children.

Campus life presented unique challenges for the married students as well. Barbara Gunn, wife of a veteran studying at the University of Oregon, and a student herself, neatly summed up the experience when she wrote: "For my husband Rex and me, and many like us, college has been anything but a shelter from real life—it's been a baby crib squeezed into one corner, diapers drying over the furnace, and grocery bills instead of prom tickets." Barbara and Rex—24 years old and a 4-year veteran of the Pacific Theater—had signed up for veterans' housing during his freshman year. But the waiting list was long, and they never did get in.

Instead, just before their baby was born almost two years later, the Gunns managed to rent a one-bedroom house in Eugene for \$45 a month—no small feat in a city where the population had grown from 35,000 in 1940 to 86,000 by the war's end. The house was a large step up from the one-room, converted workshop that the couple had occupied earlier, where the cooking was done on a hot plate, the heat came from a cast iron stove, and the bath facilities were out the back door and thirty steps down a gravel path.

By the time Barbara and Rex Gunn were graduated, the influx of veterans onto the campuses of the nation had reached its peak and was beginning to ebb. In 1947, more than a million of the college students in the United States—49.2 percent—were veterans. They took an active role in the campus community and made their presence felt on the athletic field as well. The halfback of the University of Michigan's 1947 championship football team was Bob Chappuis, a top contender for that year's Heisman Trophy. A few years earlier, during his 21st mission as an aerial gunner, Chappuis had bailed out of his crippled airplane over Italy. The 1947 Heisman eventually went to Johnny Lujack, a quarterback for the University of Notre Dame who had returned to school after three years in the Navy.

By 1948, when the number of veterans in college had slipped to 975,000, there was a growing consensus among educators that the veterans were the hardest

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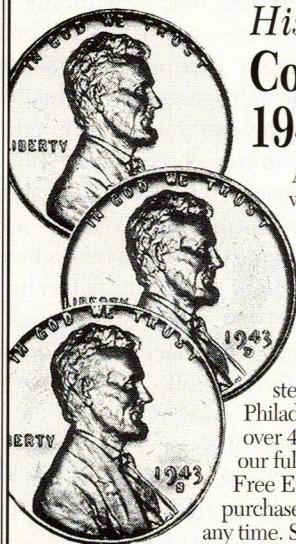
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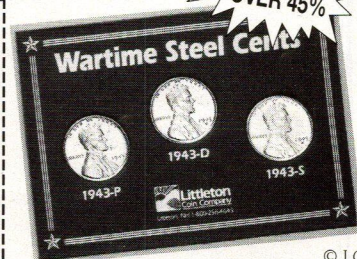
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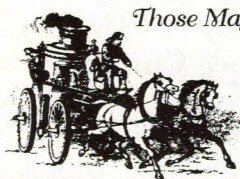


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working, most serious, and best students that the campuses had ever seen. "The G.I.'s," an education editor for *The New York Times* wrote late in 1947, "are hogging the honor rolls and the Dean's lists."

A professor at Lehigh spoke for most of his colleagues when he stated: "The civilian kids consider most of us doddering imbeciles. But the veterans seem to be impressed with our knowledge. They are old enough to realize that they know very little." He added that "They are the most responsive and receptive students Lehigh has ever had." One non-veteran student at Lehigh complained that the veterans "work so hard, we have to slave to keep up."

Even President Conant of Harvard changed his mind about veterans as students. In an article in *Life* magazine, he admitted that, "for seriousness, perceptiveness, steadiness, and all other undergraduate virtues," the former soldiers and sailors were "the best in Harvard's history." At Columbia University in '47, none of the 7,826 veterans in attendance was in serious academic difficulty. Such performances were the norm on campuses across the country.

Criticisms of the G.I. Bill for alleged abuses were few, but, as with any program of this size—more than \$14 billion was eventually expended on it—there were some transgressions. Virtually all problems, however, occurred in education and training on the "trade," not the college, level. Numerous vocational schools had sprung into existence seemingly overnight. Until Congress tightened the restrictions on vocational/technical training in 1949, much of what was offered in some 5,635 such institutions was useless to those enrolled.

In 1948, while living in a cramped studio apartment on Riverside Drive in New York City, the Keenan twins began their studies at Columbia University. Thanks to credits that the school granted for their nurse's training and for courses they had taken in the Army, they received their degrees in 1950. They went on to Catholic University in Washington, D.C., for post-graduate work, earning master's degrees in education. The sisters were among the more than 64,000 women veterans to gain degrees under the G.I. Bill.

John Rigas received his degree in management engineering from RPI in 1950.

The yearbook photograph taken of his graduating class includes the wives and children of the veterans (see pages 52-53). Grouped in the front, next to their gowned husbands and fathers, these family members dominate the picture. Dr. L. W. Houston, then president of the college, is pictured near the center of the photo, holding one of the youngest of the babies in his arms. Instead of looking at the camera, he is smiling down at the child.

The G.I. Bill and the veterans it helped to educate have been the subject of many studies by educators and statisticians in recent years. The findings consistently show that twenty percent of these graduates would never have been able to attend college had it not been for the bill.

By the time the provisions of the original G.I. Bill expired in 1952, roughly 15 percent—some 2.25 million—of the veterans eligible for its benefits had passed through institutions of higher learning. A study conducted by the Veterans Administration, with the assistance of the Departments of Labor and Commerce, revealed in 1965 that the G.I. Bill had substantially increased the earning power of those who had availed themselves of the opportunities it provided, and in the process, it generated an estimated \$1 billion in additional income tax revenue. In less than twenty years, the federal government had recouped more than the original \$14 billion cost of the program.

In 1969, Paul Cunningham, a reporter on NBC's *Today* show and a veteran who attended college under the G.I. Bill, spoke affectionately of the legislation on the 25th anniversary of its passage. The occasion, he said, recalled "images like olive-drab sweaters dyed blue or maroon, a lapel button—what we called a 'ruptured duck'—young wives standing in mud to hang up baby clothes outside a Quonset hut. What it did for this country may never be reckoned . . . except we know it changed the entire concept of adult education . . ." Some had suggested, he noted, that a memorial to the G.I. Bill be established. That, Cunningham concluded, might be good. "It might remind us that once in a while we do something right." ★

Michael D. Haydock, recently retired as a code enforcer, now works as a consultant and freelance writer, whose articles have appeared in Military History, Buffalo Spree, and Army Times.

BOOKSHELF

continued from page 14

prints, and modern-day photographs and maps to chronicle two of the third U.S. president's passions in life—traveling and good wine. Gabler recreates Jefferson's days in Paris while Commissioner to France and his extensive travels through Europe, during which he acquired a deep appreciation for and knowledge of the local wines; his years in the White House, when only the finest wines were served to dinner guests as Jefferson reminisced about his years in France; and his 1809 retirement to Monticello, his Virginia estate, where economic considerations caused him to buy lesser-known vintages. The book is augmented by extensive chapter notes and a list of Jefferson's favorite wines that are still available today.

THE NEW HISTORY OF FLORIDA

edited by Michael Gannon (University Press of Florida, 466 pages, \$34.95). The group of experts who contributed to this book document the political, economic, military, religious, and social history of the Sunshine State. Intended for general readers and scholars alike, the project was undertaken to commemorate the 150th anniversary of Florida's statehood in 1995. Gannon's comprehensive history records the coming of the original settlers about 10,000 years ago; the arrival of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century, followed by three hundred years of Spanish and British rule; the development of Florida's Seminole and Miccosukee Indian tribes; the transfer of sovereignty from the Spanish to the Americans in 1821; the state's role in the Civil War; how the Great Depression of the 1930s affected the state; and the politics of Florida during the twentieth century.

LEE THE SOLDIER

edited by Gary W. Gallagher (University of Nebraska Press, 620 pages, \$45.00). Gallagher here combines General Robert E. Lee's (1807-70) unpublished testimony with essays by prominent Civil War historians to offer an in-depth examination of the Confederate general's military leadership. The book is divided into four sections: "Testimony of R. E. Lee" includes memoranda of 1868 conversations, in which the commander

of the Army of Northern Virginia reveals his thoughts about many of his subordinates; "Assessments of Lee's Overall Generalship" is composed of nine essays—including the transcript of an 1872 speech by former Confederate General Jubal A. Early (1816-94)—which evaluate Lee's renowned capabilities and his effect on the Confederacy as a whole; "The Great Campaigns" examines General Lee's decision making from the Seven Days' Battles in 1862 to the Appomattox Campaign three years later; and "The Written Record" presents a bibliography of the best books written about Lee's military career.

DALTONS! THE RAID
ON COFFEYVILLE, KANSAS

by Robert Barr Smith (University of Oklahoma Press, 237 pages, \$24.95). Smith's account of the infamous Dalton gang's October 5, 1892 attempt to rob two Coffeyville, Kansas, banks simultaneously breaks with tradition by focusing on the small town's defenders. He notes that the legacy of these outlaw gang members—Gratton, Bob, and Emmett Dalton; Bill Powers; and Dick Broadwell—has been mythicized by popular histories and films, and their reputations have inappropriately evolved into those of folk heroes. Smith's new examination of the Coffeyville raid, which has been remembered largely for its sheer audacity and daring, portrays the gang members simply as hoodlums who preferred theft to honest work, not as the Robin Hood-like figures of legend, and puts the emphasis on the heroic efforts of the ordinary citizens who fought and, in four cases, died to stop them.

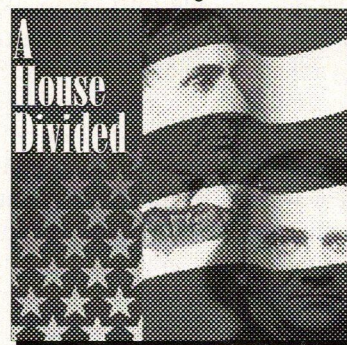
WITNESS TO AMERICA:

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF
THE UNITED STATES FROM ITS
DISCOVERY TO MODERN TIMES

edited by Henry Steele Commager and Allan Nevins (Lou Reda Productions/Barnes and Noble Books, 1227 pages, \$15.95). Originally published in 1949 as *The Heritage of America*, this classic work comprises more than 250 first-hand narratives written by famous figures as diverse as Cotton Mather (1663-1728) and William T. Sherman (1820-91), and examines every important aspect of U.S. history through the end of World War II. ★

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MOUNTAIN LEGEND

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Like his comrade Kit Carson, Beckwourth rode many dangerous miles carrying military dispatches along the Santa Fe Trail. Lewis Garrard, author of *Wah-to-Yah and the Taos Trail*, one of the best books ever written on the West, came across Beckwourth one night on the trail. "A mile beyond," he recounted, "we came upon a group of three men cooking, the leader of whom was a man known from Yellowstone to El Rio Bravo, from Salt Lake to Sangre Cristo, from Santa Fe to Missouri - the shrewd, independent Jim Beckwith. . . . He was a large, good-humored fellow: and while listening to the characteristic colloquy, I almost forgot that he was of a race who, in the much boasted land of liberty, are an inferior, degraded people."

Having returned to California by 1848, Beckwourth carried mail along the lonely route between Monterey and Los Angeles. One of his stops on that route was the home of a wealthy Englishman named William Reed. When Beckwourth stopped there in December

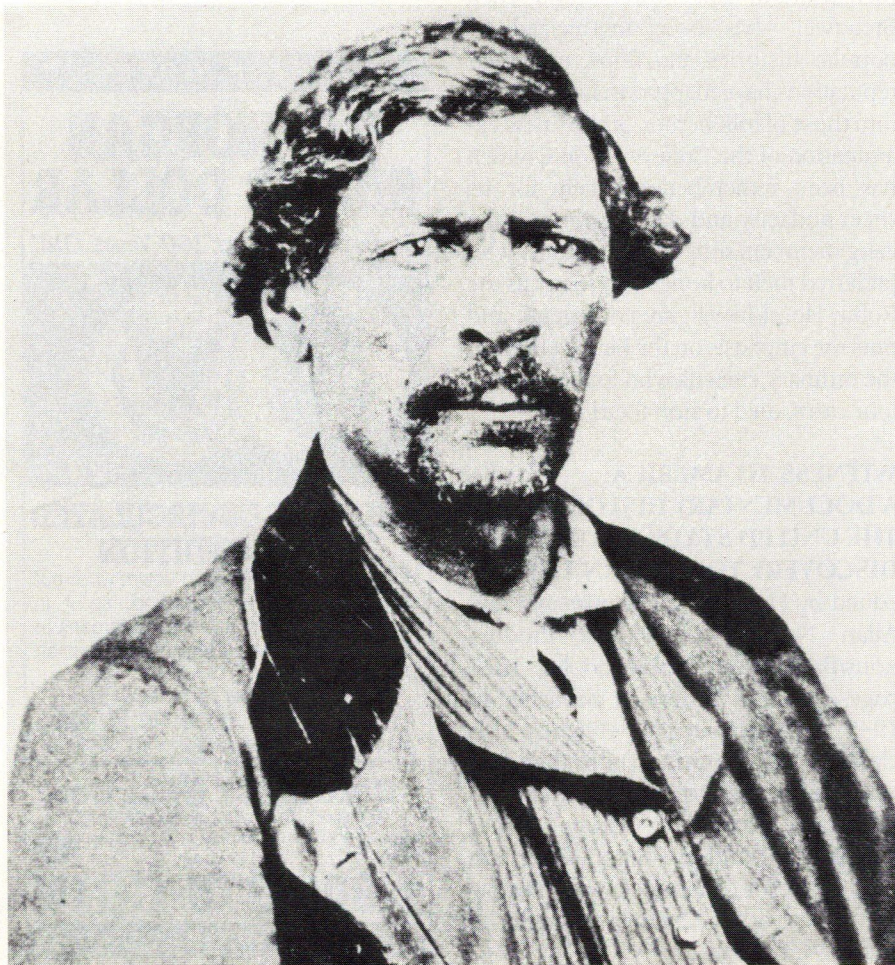
of that year, he found the bodies of Reed and his entire household—11 people in all—murdered by outlaws looking for gold. Given his record, it should be no surprise that Beckwourth was the first person to happen upon the scene of what became perhaps the most famous crime in early California history. The gruesome discovery spooked Beckwourth, who jumped back on his horse and rode the ninety miles to Monterey nonstop to report the crime to then-Lieutenant William Tecumseh Sherman. In later years, the future Civil War general remembered the old mountain man and warrior confessing to being about as scared as he had ever been. As it turned out, his fears were justified; the murderers were still in the house when Beckwourth entered and had intended to kill him when he walked into the room where they were hiding.

Beckwourth gave up the mail route when the Gold Rush of 1849 began. John Letts, a storekeeper at Mormon Bar, provided a description of Beckwourth, the forty-niner: "About nine in the morning, I saw, approaching the

store, a strange looking being, mounted on a gray horse, a poncho thrown over his shoulder, over which was slung a huge rifle, skins wrapped around his legs, a pair of Mexican spurs on, and a slouched hat which partially obscured his copper complexion." Beckwourth, who supplied miners with trade goods, was not averse to a little gambling on the side; among his other talents, he was reportedly one of the best monte players in the West. According to Letts, Beckwourth won \$13,000 in just two nights.

In 1850, while roving Northern California, Beckwourth found a new route through the rocky Sierra Nevadas. With the help of some friends, he cleared a wagon road and, by 1851, was guiding the first of the tens of thousands of pioneers who would enter California from Nevada via the "Beckwourth Pass." Acclaimed California poet Ina Coolbrith was a child aboard the first wagon train to use the new route. In 1927, she recalled that Beckwourth rode bareback and wore his hair in two long braids tied with colored cord. "And when Jim Beckwourth said he would like to have my mother's little girls ride into California on his horse in front of him," Coolbrith added, "I was the happiest little girl in the world . . . we came at last in sight of California and there on the boundary Jim Beckwourth stopped, and pointing forward, said, 'Here is California, little girls, here is your kingdom.'"

During the winter of 1854, the man who had lived so much history stayed in Beckwourth Valley, dictating his memoirs to Thomas D. Bonner, a sometime temperance advocate who occasionally yielded to the temptation of the demon rum. Some suspect that, during the writing of the book, Bonner and Beckwourth were occasionally under the influence of more than cold mountain air, a fact that, if true, would help explain why the work reads more like a mountain man's yarn



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In addition to his adventures as a mountain man and Indian warrior, Beckwourth (left) served as a dispatch rider for the Army during the Second Seminole War in Florida; carried mail in Southern California just prior to the 1849 gold rush to the north; found a new route through the Sierra Nevadas and helped to guide pioneers to California; and ran a trading post and hotel on the west side of the Beckwourth Pass.

than a true autobiography.

Two years later, when Bonner published *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth, Mountaineer, Scout, and Pioneer, and Chief of the Crow Nation of Indians*, the book was received as little more than a self-serving fantasy. More recently, however, it has been seen in a different light. Although details—particularly the number of scalps taken and horses stolen—are outrageously exaggerated, most events described actually did occur.

“BECKWOURTH ADOPTED *the Crow manner of dress so convincingly that he would startle unsuspecting whites by addressing them in English.*”

Ironically, the verbal skills that brought Jim Beckwourth early renown virtually guaranteed that the rest of his remarkable life would be regarded as fiction. The noted historian of the frontier, Francis Parkman, in a note scribbled in his own copy of Beckwourth's book, wrote: “Much of this narrative is probably false. . . . Beckwith is a fellow of bad character—a compound of white and black blood.”

During the 1850s, Beckwourth ran a combination trading post, ranch, and hotel in a valley on the California side of the Beckwourth Pass. Accounts from those days suggest that he was overly generous in lending money and in his hospitality to the often-destitute immigrants. Beckwourth Valley was, and still is, a pleasant place, one where a man nearing sixty might be content to finish out his days. Jim Beckwourth, however, had one more piece of history to witness firsthand.

By 1860, he was living in Denver, managing business interests for several friends who apparently held little stock in his reputation for dishonesty. He was also Acting Indian Agent. His old friends, the Cheyenne, often sought Beckwourth out concerning problems with the white man. Jim befriended the editor of the *Rocky Mountain News* and, on a number of occasions, used the paper to plead for justice for the Indians.

Unfortunately, the mood of many whites at the time favored total annihilation of the Plains Indians. Those ugly sentiments found expression on Novem-

ber 29, 1864, at what became known as the Sand Creek Massacre, when 150 to 200 peaceful Cheyenne and Arapaho—more than half of them women and children—were slaughtered by the Third Regiment of the Colorado Volunteer Cavalry.

Beckwourth, then in the employ of the Army as a guide and interpreter (though probably not willingly), witnessed the massacre. At the hearings held afterward, he testified that he feared refusing to ac-

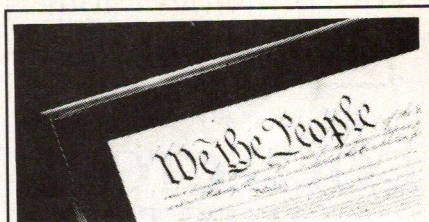
company the troops would have resulted in his being hanged. His testimony—straightforward and accurate—must have required considerable courage, since the only officer to testify was later murdered on the streets of Denver.

Undoubtedly saddened, and ashamed of his participation in the massacre, Beckwourth left Denver soon after. He spent his last days as a guide and scout for the army. The West he had loved was changing irrevocably, yet Jim managed to find a final resting place particularly suited to an old mountain man.

In 1866, according to one story concerning Beckwourth's death, the Crow invited him to a tribal feast, during which they tried to persuade him to lead them again. When Beckwourth refused, they fed him poison in the conviction that if they could not have him as a live chief, they would keep him in the tribal burial ground. His body, in accordance with Crow custom, was wrapped in skins and placed on a platform in a tree. Even in death, Jim Beckwourth had a fine sense of the theatrical.

Although his real life story has been overshadowed by the tales that he and others fabricated, Beckwourth was, indeed, one of that rare breed of men whose daring exploits helped to conquer the wilderness and open up the American West for the settlers who followed. ★

Michael Martin is a freelance writer from Milwaukee, Wisconsin, whose articles have appeared previously in American History.



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'THE WEST' REVISITED

continued from page 34

early trading—and that our conquest, in the end, was relatively effortless.”

Positive stereotypes, Ives contends, are just as harmful as negative ones. To believe “in the United States as a nation that has never erred, never gone astray, is to deny history. I think that America grappled with the moral issues of conquest, with the practical challenges of Indian policy, as hard as any nation ever has. . . . There is room for tremendous pride and tremendous regret in what we did to become the nation we are today.”

All good history, in Burns's view, “should be a mirror.” Since the past is gone and beyond change, “our pursuit of our history is a way of holding up a mirror to us now. . . . History is about the present-day consideration of what went before.” He hopes that this series on the West mirrors our complexity as a nation, one that is “Hispanic

By 1908, when the photograph below was taken in Arizona, the frontier had been declared “closed” and America was on the verge of taking its place on the world stage. Nonetheless, the lure of the West for hunters, trappers, and others who relished their freedom in the great outdoors remained strong.

and Indian as well as European; that is about the bottom up as well as the top down; that is able to tolerate complexity without resorting to simplistic black-and-white, good-and-evil dichotomies that have been popular not only in our feature films, but even in our histories.”

As recently as five years ago, Burns was pessimistic about the teaching of history in the schools and the general awareness level of the American population. In an essay written for the March/April 1991 issue of *American History*, he cautioned about extreme approaches to historical subjects. Too scientific an approach results in the enumeration of “myriad details equally, without discrimination—the telephone book at its worst,” while using only art as a criterion, such as in films like *Gone With the Wind* and some television miniseries, leads people to the conclusion that the Civil War “was not brother against brother but heaving chest against heaving bosom.”

Although he believes that “bad history being taught” and television are the “two great things that threaten our knowledge of our past,” Burns is more optimistic these days. Events of the last few years, particularly audience reaction to his own series, have been encouraging. Television, he notes, is scheduling “historical docu-



mentaries, and teachers are using those documentaries in the classroom." Films like *The Civil War* and *Baseball* spurred people on to ask questions, delve deeper, and learn more. This resulted in the sale of "a lot of books, not just our companion book, but other people's books. Hundreds of books. Whole Civil War sections were created. Baseball and sports sections were expanded. That is good news . . ."

Viewers of these documentaries also write letters and engage in other activities when history is presented well. Judging from the reaction to his work, Burns sees more in television than the purely passive medium described by its critics. "I happen to be one of the people who can tell you that TV does [cause viewers to] do things," he says. "People get up and go to battlefields after they see films. People go and walk across the Brooklyn Bridge after they see films. People decide to travel to every ballpark in the country after they see films. And I think people are going to want to go out West and see it again or see it for the first time."

Like other Burns films, *The West* boasts a long list of stage and screen personalities as the voices of individuals profiled; actor Peter Coyote provides the narration. Neither Burns nor Ives expects anyone to catch the public's eye as



NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART

While Burns and Ives believe that the United States deserves credit for building a nation from coast to coast, they acknowledge the price paid by the Native Americans who originally inhabited the West. One of those Indians was Four Bears (above), a Mandan chief who befriended whites in Missouri only to see his people eradicated by an epidemic of smallpox introduced through American Fur Company trade goods.

author Shelby Foote did in his role as commentator in *The Civil War*. The West, notes Ives, is "too vast a subject for one person to inhabit to that degree." If anyone comes close, both agree, it will be N. Scott Momaday, a Native American who is a Pulitzer Prize-winning poet and a professor at the University of Arizona.

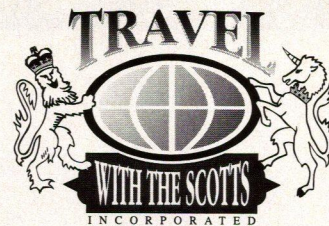
The corporate sponsor for *The West* is General Motors, a company credited by Ives with a most "enlightened" attitude and "an honest commitment to the educational impact of the series . . ." Both the automotive giant and Public Television, Ives feels, deserve credit for being willing to get behind such complicated and potentially controversial subject matter.

Viewers will be able to judge for themselves when they gather around their televisions—what Burns calls "our electronic campfire"—to hear the stories of our shared past and gain a sense of community "no matter where on the continent we happen to live, no matter how recently our ancestors arrived on [America's] shores." ★

The above article is based on an interview by Margaret Fortier, editor of American History, with Ken Burns and Stephen Ives.



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ON THE TRAIL OF LEWIS & CLARK

In 1803, during the administration of President Thomas Jefferson, the United States purchased a vast piece of territory from France that more than doubled the



LEWIS & CLARK MEMORIAL, FORT BENTON, MONTANA

size of the United States. Anxious to learn as much as possible about this new acquisition, Jefferson called on Meriwether Lewis, an old friend who was now his aide, to lead an expedition that would provide answers to his questions. Lewis, in turn, enlisted William Clark, who had served with him in the Northwest Campaign against the British a decade before, to join him as co-commander of the enterprise.

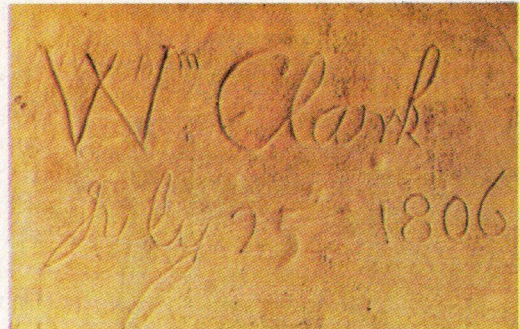
The remarkable journey of Lewis and Clark during 1804-06 covered more than eight thousand miles and took just over two and a third years to complete. Along the way their Corps of Discovery navigated rivers, climbed mountains, and negotiated with Native Americans, many of whom had no previous contact with whites. It was a remarkable adventure, meticulously documented in their

*Several in the party returned to St. Louis in April 1805; only 33, including Toussaint Charbonneau and his Shoshone wife, Sacagawea, who joined the group as interpreters in mid-journey, continued on to the Pacific Northwest.

journals, which greatly expanded the current knowledge of what lay between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Northwest and helped to define the geographical scope of the United States.

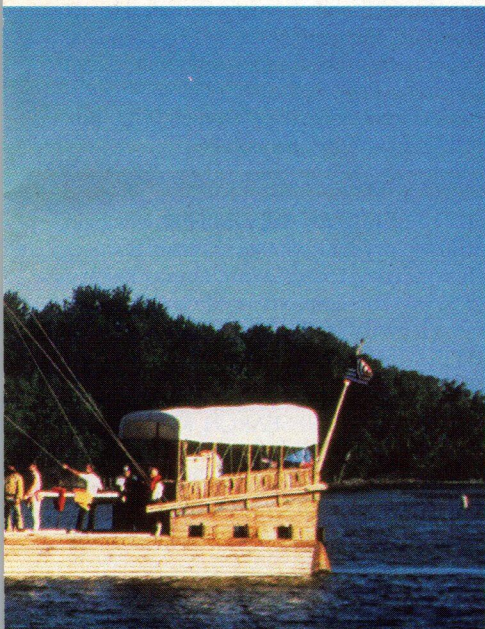
Few today would have the time to retrace the Corps of Discovery's entire journey. But for those who wish to recreate Lewis and Clark's experiences by following segments of their route or by visiting sites associated with the explorers, many opportunities exist.

In St. Louis, Missouri, where Lewis and Clark conferred with fur traders and others who had traveled up the Missouri River and where both made their homes after returning from their trek, the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial (314-425-4465) commemorates the expedition in the Museum of Westward Expansion that is located beneath the city's Gateway Arch. The museum houses exhibits on Lewis and Clark, which feature reproductions of items carried by the explorers on their journey; on the expedition itself, particularly the areas through which the Corps of Discovery passed; and on American Indian peace medals, most notably the one employed by Lewis and Clark during their journey to extend



CLARK'S NAME (ABOVE) ENGRAVED ON ROCK FACE OF POMPEYS PILLAR (BELOW), NEAR BILLINGS, MONTANA.





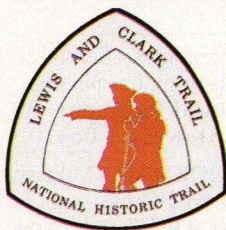
REPLICA KEEL BOAT, ONAWA, IOWA.

U.S. diplomacy to western Indian tribes. Later this year or early next, a full-size animatronic figure of William Clark will describe the party's diplomatic dealings with Native Americans.

Lewis and Clark set out on their journey from "Camp Wood," north of St. Louis on the Illinois side of the Mississippi, on May 14, 1804, accompanied by 43 other men and a Newfoundland dog*. Today, the National Park Service has designated the route they followed the **Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail** (406-538-7461). Intrepid modern-day explorers can travel by boat or canoe, automobile, or on foot over portions of the historic route through nine states—Missouri, Nebraska, Iowa, North and South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington, and Oregon. Important spots on the trail are marked by interpretive signs, and museums, visitor centers, and living history displays offer numerous learning opportunities. Each May in

St. Charles, Missouri, the **Lewis and Clark Rendezvous** (314-946-7776) reenacts the party's 1804 departure, and in June, Great Falls, Montana, hosts a **Lewis and Clark Festival** (406-771-0885) that features a number of educational programs relating to the expedition.

In December 1805, when they reached the Columbia River region—to which Captain Robert Gray had staked a U.S. claim in 1792—the explorers erected Fort Clatsop as their winter quarters. The fort was reconstructed by local citizens' groups in 1955, using plans drawn by Clark. Administered today by the National Park Service as **Fort Clatsop National Memorial** (503-861-2471), the site allows visitors to view demonstrations by costumed staff of many frontier skills that would have helped Lewis, Clark, and their comrades survive their long trek.



Anyone interested in establishing new sections of the trail or in promoting public interest in matters relating to the expedition may join or support the **Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc.**, Box 3434, Great Falls, Montana 59403. ★



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September/October 1996



MAILBOX

continued from page 20

battle had begun. He used up his soldiers at a greater rate than did the Navy-oriented mid-Pacific wing of attack in the war. Instead of cutting off Japanese garrisons as the Navy did, he insisted on hitting each one seriatim. His behavior in Korea and politically after his relief was overt politicking akin to that of General George McClellan in the Civil War.

Yes, in many ways MacArthur was a good soldier and served his country fairly well. But, that was what he was paid to do. His intervention in the politics of Japan post war was first class. However, it was clear that, in the American theme of things, MacArthur was insubordinate beyond the pale and only his self-made reputation kept him from being severely disciplined earlier in the game. One of our many blessings as a country is that we have avoided the deadly plague of a politicized military; he came as close as anyone to having changed that.

Paul L. Feinsmith
Hollywood, Florida

MACARTHUR DESERVES CREDIT

One of General MacArthur's greatest accomplishments [May/June 1996 issue] was his tenure as the head of occupation in post-war Japan. He raised the status of Japanese women, made the Japanese emperor less divine and more accessible, encouraged workers' rights, kept the Russians out of the occupation picture, and in general tried to do the near-impossible, that is to change a conquered nation's attitude in a fair and reasonable way. The general deserves as much credit for a job well done during this period as he received for his illustrious battlefield activities.

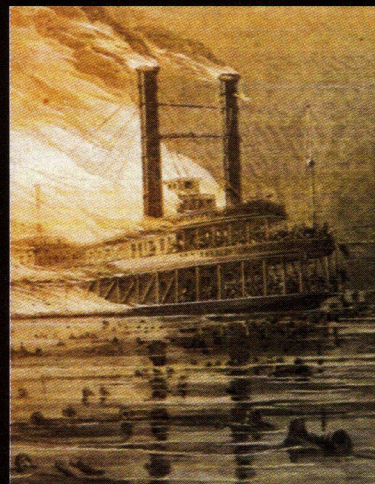
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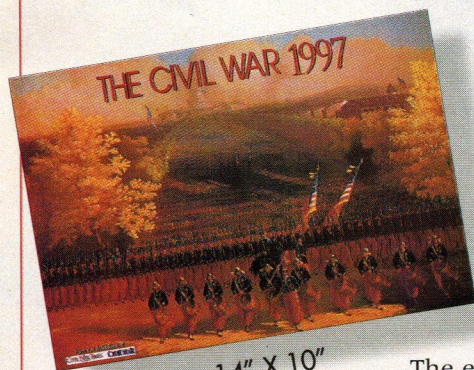
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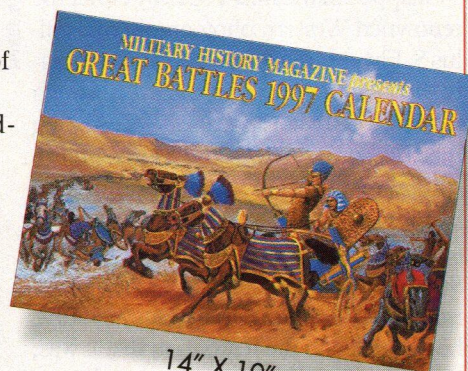


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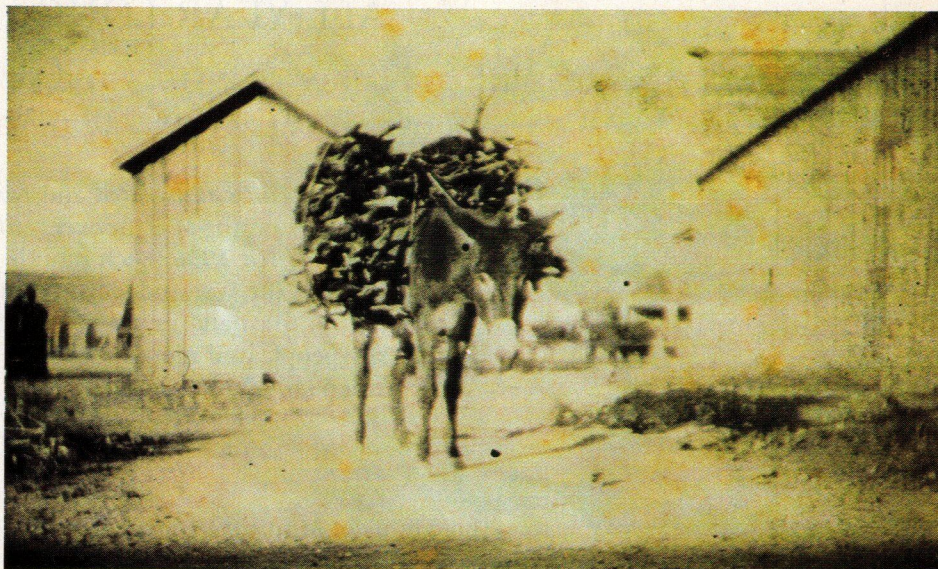
TOMBSTONE PHOTO IDENTIFIED

At first glance, the spotted, yellowing photograph (right) is decidedly unremarkable; two small, plain buildings stand indifferently behind a weary, heavily burdened pack mule. Closer examination, however, reveals that the arid patch of earth between and just beyond these two buildings in Tombstone, Arizona, was the site of the most famous gunfight in American history. There, on October 26, 1881, Wyatt Earp and his allies met the Clanton and McLaury brothers in what has been inaccurately called the "Gunfight at the O.K. Corral."

Snapped in the mid-1880s by either the renowned Western photographer Camillus S. Fly or his wife Mollie, this seemingly lifeless photograph passed through many hands over the years, before joining the collection of Steve and Marge Elliott. Although well known among Tombstone historians, the image was long dismissed as an ordinary photograph of a mule, and nothing more. Recent on-site comparisons with other period photographs, however, led to the realization that it was, in the words of Arizona Historical Society's Jay Van Orden, a "wonderful little jewel." Tombstone historian Ben Traywick and others have concurred; for although photos of Tombstone abound for the years before and after the gunfight, this innocuous print is the only one known to portray the battleground as it probably looked on that fateful, fall day.

The clue that exposed the secret of the picture is the church building visible at the far left, well behind the other two structures. Built in 1882, and still standing today, the church's position proves that the other two buildings are the William Harwood house on the left and Fly's boarding house. It was in the narrow alley between the two, a half-block distant from the O.K. Corral, that the Clanton and McLaury brothers waited anxiously for the Earps before their notorious showdown.

The subsequent exchange between the two factions of more than thirty gun-



MARGE & STEVE ELLIOTT COLLECTION



LAUGHING HAWK

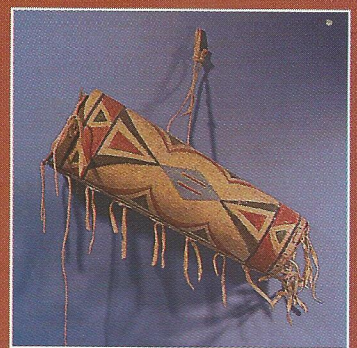
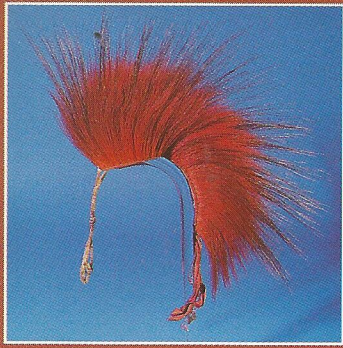
shots in about as many seconds left three men dead or dying. As young Billy Clanton lay writhing in agony against the side of the Harwood house, he begged Mr. Fly, who had witnessed the fight from next door, for more cartridges. Wyatt, Virgil, and Morgan Earp, along with their infamous accomplice John "Doc" Holliday, returned up Fremont Street, and into the annals of Western lore.

Crowds still gather in the legendary town, anxious to see the setting of such famous mayhem. Unfortunately, the loss of the original Harwood house and its reconstruction some years ago on an adjoining lot means that visitors today cannot capture a real sense of what took place there. The restrictive, 15-foot-wide alley is now a 53-three-foot-wide vacant

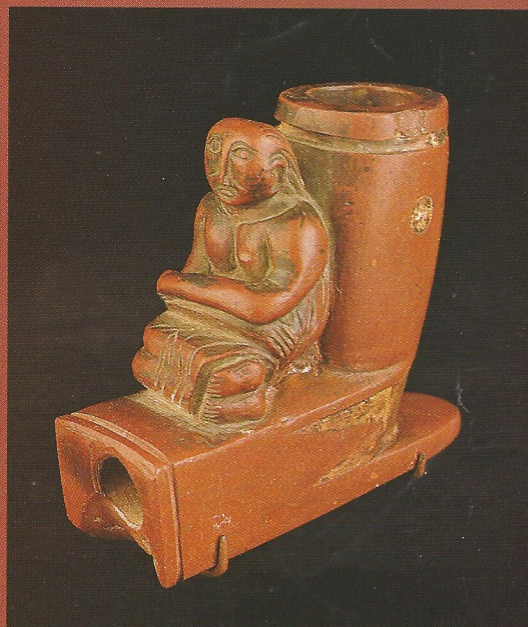
lot, manned only by incorrectly positioned wooden representations of the fight's participants and cut off from the street by a solid wall (bottom photo). The presence of these modern, inaccurate elements prevent an authentic depiction of this historic event.

The rediscovered Fly photograph, combined with the testimony offered at the Earps' murder trial that followed the shootout, offers the opportunity to reconstruct accurately the cramped space in which the swirling, deadly melee occurred. The relocation of the rebuilt Harwood house to its original site would enable visitors to achieve a greater understanding of the legendary "Gunfight at the O.K. Corral." ★

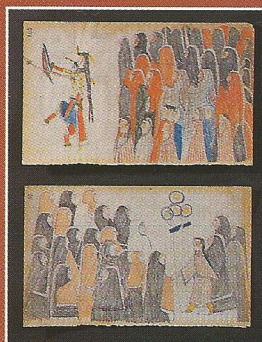
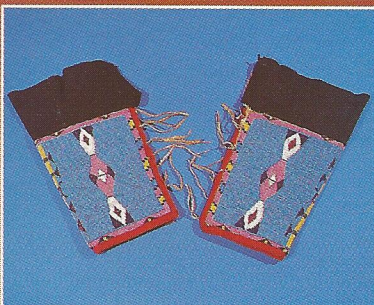
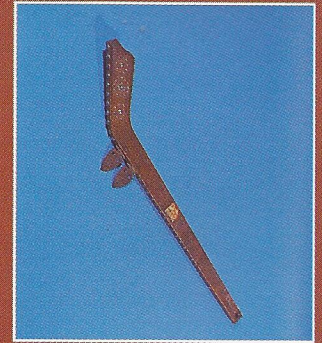
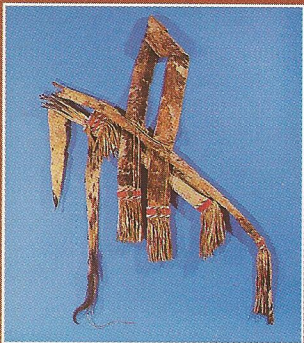
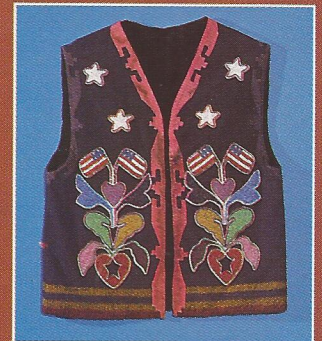
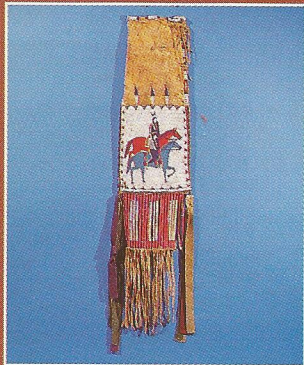
—Gary S. and Dennis McLelland



GARY HENDERSHOTT



PRICE LIST OF MY COLLECTION



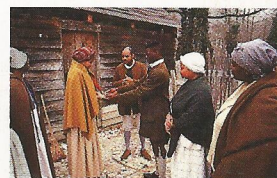
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